

In spite of the disparity of the forces, and the superiority due to equipment, instruction, and military discipline, the people fought with extraordinary valour ; many sold their lives dearly ; sometimes the mob forced masses of cavalry to retreat ; others fired from a corner with dexterous skill, while from the balconies, windows, and roofs men and women threw down all kinds of implements on the imperial troops. But it was impossible for a people without leaders and undisciplined to sustain the struggle.

The rumour that the French had attacked one of the other barracks moved the already hesitating artillery corps to take part with the people, and the valiant officers Don Pedro Velarde and Don Luis Daoiz, taking the lead, commanded three cannon to be brought out and supported by the peasants and by a picket of infantry commanded by an officer called Ruiz; they proposed to repulse the enemy, and shortly succeeded in compelling a detachment of one hundred French to surrender. But presently Lefranc's column came down upon them, and a desperate struggle ensued, deadly volleys were discharged, the losses on either side were numerous; in the beginning of the conflict Ruiz fell to the ground mortally wounded; the intrepid Velarde died gloriously, pierced by a ball; but ammunition ran short and the French charged with their bayonets. Such was the defence of the artillery, which cost the French dear, and such the example of patriotism given by the valiant Daoiz and Velarde to the glory and honour of Spain, who have been ever since, and will ever be, the eternal objects of the veneration and worship of their country.<sup>4</sup>

The members of the junta of government wished to give proof of humanity if they had not shown energy, and commissioned two of their number to carry word to Murat that if he would give orders for the firing to cease, they would re-establish quiet in the town. Murat acceded; and the commissioners went through the streets waving white handkerchiefs crying "Peace! Peace!" The multitude quieted down upon the promise of reconciliation and pardon for the past. Many unfortunates owed their lives to this step; the entrances to the streets were guarded by the French; at certain places sentries were posted with lighted match in readiness to complete the terms of the people, a final sign that the reconciliation and pardon were now to be extended into a desolation and vengeance.

Manuscripts accepted for publication, or copies, given before had been published, the year of the date of acceptance or date of publication:

[illegible][illegible]

On the following day, a large number of the men who were deserted and absent, had returned to the ship. The names of some of the men who had been of the party, were being given. The chief of the proceeding day was a large number of the men who were published a proclamation regarding the men who had been of the party will be for me, as it will be a large number of the men who had been of the party.

11. The following was taken from the letter of the 1st of June 1964, from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs:

[illegible]



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the common enemy of France and Spain for this rebellion ; he declared that he had received a previous warning of it which he had not credited, until the rebellion had burst upon him, and he was compelled to chastise the offenders ; he assured them that the emperor was anxious to preserve the integrity of the Spanish monarchy without separating from it a single village or exacting any war tax ; he exhorted the ministers of the church, the magistrates, gentlemen, landholders, and merchants to use their influence to keep down sedition.<sup>a</sup>

Meanwhile by Napoleon's orders Charles IV, Maria Louisa, and Godoy had been sent to Bayonne where Ferdinand awaited Napoleon's pleasure.<sup>a</sup>

## THE ROYAL FAMILY AT BAYONNE

Immediately after the arrival of the royal parents, with Napoleon's approval, Godoy being their principal and well-nigh only councillor, Ferdinand was summoned, and in the presence of the foreign sovereign Charles commanded him to restore the crown on the morning of the following day by means of a pure and simple abdication, threatening him that, in event of his refusal, he, his brothers, and all his suite should from that moment be treated as exiles.

Napoleon supported him with energy, and when Ferdinand was about to reply, his august father sprang from his seat, and attempted to strike him, accusing him of wishing to deprive him of life as well as of his crown. The queen, silent up to then, became enraged, outraging her son with insulting affronts, being carried away to such a point by her ungovernable anger that, according to Napoleon, she herself begged him to bring Ferdinand to the scaffold, which demand, if true, coming from a mother, strikes one with horror. Her son remained mute, and sent in his abdication, dated May 1st, on these conditions : that the king his father should return to Madrid, whither Ferdinand should accompany him, to be treated as his most dutiful son ; that in presence of an assembly of the cortes Ferdinand should formally renounce the crown, explaining his motives for so doing ; that King Charles should not take back with him to Spain any persons who had justly incurred the nation's hatred.

Charles IV, as might be supposed, did not accede to his son's conditions, and on the 2nd sent him a written reply, in which, in the midst of various severe though just reflections, Napoleon's hand is discerned, and even his expressions — such as : "Everything must be done for the people, and nothing for himself ; I cannot consent to any convocation of an assembly ; a new suggestion of your inexperienced followers." Such was Bonaparte's invincible aversion to popular assemblies, although without them he might have remained in the obscurity in which fate had placed him.

On the 5th of May, the report reached Bayonne of what had occurred in Madrid on the *Dos de Mayo*. It was five in the afternoon ; all were seated save the prince. Charles repeated his former accusations, insulted Ferdinand with asperity, blamed him for the rising and for the consequent deaths ; and, calling him a perfidious traitor, again warned him that unless he resigned the crown he should be declared a usurper without delay, and he and all his household looked upon as conspirators against the life of their sovereign. On the 6th Ferdinand, being intimidated, made a pure and simple abdication in favour of his father in the terms set down by the latter. Charles had not waited for his son's abdication to conclude a treaty with

Napoleon by which he ceded to him the crown without any other restriction than that of preserving the integrity of the kingdom and the Catholic religion to the exclusion of all others. Small and petty even to the last, Don Manuel Godoy only haggled obstinately over an article relating to pensions. For the rest, the manner in which Charles gave up the crown covered with shame the father, who with one blow indirectly deprived all his sons of their succession to the throne. Arranged in a foreign land, in the eyes of the world this abdication lacked the indispensable circumstance of having been executed freely and willingly, above all being in favour of the sovereign within whose territory this important article had been inserted in the treaty.

So ended the reign of Charles IV; and no one better than himself gives us an exact and true idea of his life than, when dining with Napoleon in Bayonne, he expressed himself as follows: "Every day, winter and summer, I went hunting until twelve o'clock; then I dined, and immediately returned to my hunting until twilight. Manuel [Godoy] gave me the news, and I went to bed, to begin the same life on the following day, unless some important ceremony prevented me." Such was the manner in which the king had governed for the space of twenty years. According to the sketch which he draws of himself, he merits the same title [*fainéant*] as that applied to various kings of France of the Merovingian dynasty. Nevertheless, Charles possessed qualities which might have made him shine as a king, and fulfil all the duties of his high calling, but for his idleness and the weakness which caused him to blindly give way to the queen's will and irregular caprices. With another wife than Maria Louisa, his reign would not have compared unfavourably with that of his august predecessor, and although the situation of Europe was very different, as a result of the French Revolution, yet, well governed and without interior discord, Spain might perhaps have peacefully continued her industries and advancement without upheavals and confusion. The abdication of Ferdinand in favour of Charles IV, and of the latter in favour of Napoleon being formally drawn up, there yet lacked Ferdinand's renouncement of his rights as prince of Asturias, because although he had restored the crown to his father on the 6th of May, he had not by this act renounced his rights as immediate heir. It appears according to Don Pedro Cevallos that upon Ferdinand refusing to accede to this last concession Napoleon said, "There is no medium, prince, between renouncement and death." Others deny this threat, and indeed it would seem strange that such rigorous measures should have been resorted to with a person who had so clearly shown his weakness.

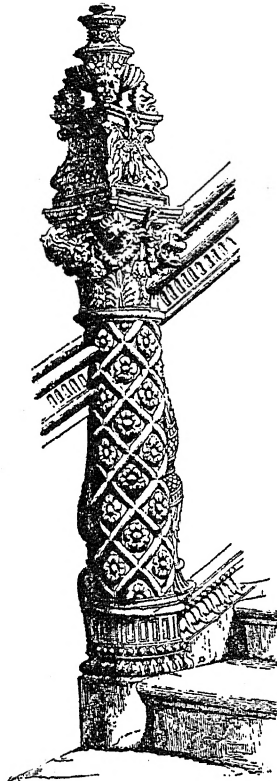
The queen of Etruria, in spite of the flattering attention she had bestowed on Murat and the French, was no happier in her negotiations than the rest of her family. The Treaty of Fontainebleau could not be kept with her son because Napoleon had promised the deputies of Portugal to maintain the integrity of that kingdom; nor could indemnification be granted her in Italy, as to allow any branch of the Bourbons to reign in that country was contrary to Napoleon's great views; the queen was compelled to be satisfied with this reply, accept the pension allotted her, and submit to the same fate as her parents.

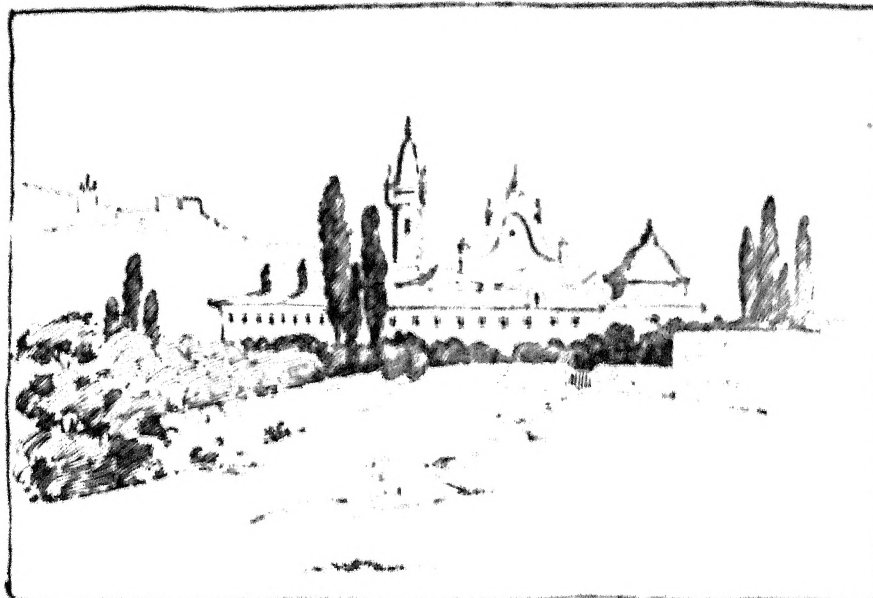
During the stay of the prince of Asturias and the infantes in Bayonne various plots were set on foot for their escape. A resident of Cervera de Alhama received money from the supreme junta of Madrid for that purpose. The duke of Mahon had sent the offer of a large sum from San Sebastian for the same object. Ferdinand's counsellors received the money in his name

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and by his orders, but the flight never took place, although several plans were proposed. They would have required less vigilance on the part of the French government and more courage on the part of the Spanish princes to bring them to a successful ending.

The renunciations being formally executed, Napoleon lost no time in despatching the members of the royal family of Spain to the interior of France. Charles IV and his wife, the queen of Etruria and her children, the infante Don Francisco, and the Prince of the Peace, left for Fontainebleau on the 10th of May, and thence proceeded to Compiègne. On the 11th Ferdinand VII, his brother and uncle, the infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio, left Bayonne; the palace of Valençay, the property of Prince Talleyrand, being assigned as their residence.<sup>h</sup>





## CHAPTER XIII

### THE PENINSULAR WAR

[1808-1814, &c.]

THE Spaniards have boldly asserted the deliverance of the peninsula to be the work of their hands. This claim is unjust to the fame of Wellington, injurious to the glory of the British arms. The imbecility of Charles IV, the villainy of Ferdinand, the corruption imputed to Godoy, were undoubtedly the proximate causes of the calamities which overwhelmed Spain; but the primary, the historical cause, was the despotism springing from the union of a superstitious court and a sanguinary priesthood, a despotism which suppressed knowledge, contracted the public mind, sapped the foundation of military and civil virtue, and prepared the way for invasion. No foreign potentate would have attempted to steal into the fortresses of a great kingdom, if the prying eyes and clamorous tongues of a free press had been ready to expose his projects, and a disciplined army present to avenger the insult: Spain, destitute of both, was first circumvented by the wiles, and then ravaged by the arms of Napoleon. She was deceived and fettered because the public voice was stifled; she was scourged and torn because her military institutions were decayed.

When an English force took the field, the Spaniards ceased to act as principals in a contest carried on in the heart of their country and involving their existence as an independent nation. After the first burst of indignation the cause of independence created little enthusiasm. Horrible barbarities were exercised on French soldiers thrown by sickness or the fortune of war into the power of the invaded, and this dreadful spirit of personal hatred was kept alive by the exactions and severe retaliations of the invader; but no great general exertion to drive the latter from the soil was made, at least

none was sustained with steadfast courage in the field; manifestoes, decrees, lofty boasts, like a cloud of canvas covering a rotten hull, made a gallant appearance, but real strength and firmness could nowhere be found.

Strange indeed was the spectacle presented—patriotism supporting a vile system of government, a popular assembly working to restore a despotic monarch, the higher classes seeking a foreign master, the lower armed in the cause of liberty and misery. The upstart leaders, secretly abhorring freedom though governing in her name, trembled at the democratic activity they excited; and while calling forth all the bad passions of the multitude repressed the patriotism that would regenerate as well as save. The country suffered the evils without enjoying the benefits of a revolution; tumults and assassinations terrified and disgraced the sensible part of the community; a corrupt administration of the resources extinguished patriotism; neglect ruined the armies. The peasant soldier, usually flying at the first onset, threw away his arms and went home; or, attracted by the license of the *partidas*, joined the bands of men, the most part originally robbers, who were as oppressive to the people as the enemy; and these guerilla chiefs would in their turn have been quickly exterminated, had not the French, pressed by the British battalions, been compelled to keep in large masses: this was the secret of Spanish constancy. Copious supplies from England and the valour of the Anglo-Portuguese troops supported the war, and it was the gigantic vigour with which the duke of Wellington resisted the fierceness of France and sustained the weakness of three inefficient cabinets that delivered the peninsula.

#### WAR DECLARED ON FRANCE

The slaughter of the 2d of May at Madrid, and the treatment of Ferdinand at Bayonne were as the spark of fire to the mine, and the explosion, beginning in the original cradle of Spanish liberty, the Asturias, spread in the course of the month over all Spain. *Juntas*, or councils, composed of the most influential and generally of the most enlightened persons of their respective neighbourhoods, were formed in every province, and most large towns. Many excesses and crimes were committed; many persons fell sacrifices to the ungoverned, justly or unjustly excited by their own conduct, of being agents and partisans of the French. When Seville, as next in importance to Madrid and Barcelona, and therefore first of the unsubdued cities of Spain, claimed for her junta the title of supreme, and a degree of authority over the others, the other juntas frankly acknowledged her pretensions. In the name of Ferdinand VII, the supreme junta of Seville, on the 6th of June, declared war against Napoleon and France. Orders were issued for enrolling the whole male population of Spain, combined with judicious instructions to the Spanish leaders to avoid risking their raw soldiers in pitched battles against the disciplined veterans of France; and fast-sailing vessels were sent to the colonies, to warn them against the designs of France and claim obedience to the supreme junta, as lawfully exercising the authority of Ferdinand.

#### JOSEPH BONAPARTE CHOSEN KING OF SPAIN

The crown of Spain Napoleon is said to have originally destined for Lucien Bonaparte, the eldest of his brothers. But Lucien was a republican upon principle; he had besides accumulated in the public service a large

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fortune, which he was enjoying at Rome in the pleasures of taste and literature; and, in addition to the sacrifice of his principles and his tastes, Napoleon required from him that of his affections. He would not comply with Napoleon's desire that he should repudiate the mother of his children in order to wed a princess. He is believed to have refused the crown of Spain; and Napoleon assigned it to Joseph, already king of Naples.

A sort of Spanish assembly, meant as a substitute for the cortes, and called by the French name of the "notables," was summoned to Bayonne, to meet and acknowledge Joseph, and to accept the new constitution to be conferred upon them with their new king. Many obeyed the call, some from believing resistance to the power of Napoleon impossible; some preferring reforms imposed by the hand of a foreign conqueror to the ills of their late government; and more from motives of personal interest.

Joseph then selected his ministers, the great officers of his household, etc. Urquijo, who had succeeded to Savadry under Charles IV, and been like him displaced by Godoy's peishawar, was appointed secretary of state; Cevallos minister for foreign affairs; Jovellanos for the interior; Calvarius of finance; Pinuela of justice; Aranza of the Interior; Marazuela of the marine; O'Farrel of the war department. Jovellanos alone firmly and perseveringly refused to hold office under the infanture king. But of those present some appear to have accepted the places offered them merely because they saw no other means of getting back to their own abode of the Pyrenees.

The new king of Spain entered his allotted kingdom on the 24th of July, 1808, and issued proclamations inviting his subjects to submission by the fairest promises of good government. But he found it requisite to pass at Vittoria, until his imperial brother's generals should make way for his progress to his capital. This did not seem likely to be an affair of any great difficulty, for the insurgents were as yet unsupported from abroad. The war between England and Spain was declared to be at an end. But the strength of England was then fostered away in various remote expeditions; and the only immediately disposable force consisted of about nine thousand men, who had been assembled at Cork for an attack upon South America. All hostile measures against the Spanish colonies were now out of the question; and Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards made duke of Wellington), to whom the command of this small body of men was given, was directed to proceed with it to the assistance of Spain and Portugal.

On the first symptoms of resistance, Murat had fortified the palace of Buen Retiro, nearly adjoining Madrid, made dispositions for defending the capital (which his successor, Savary, followed up), and sent generals of merited reputation, with considerable divisions of the army, in several directions, to suppress the rebellion, as it was termed, and control the country. The success of the adverse parties in these different situations had been various. At Cadix, a French squadron had been compelled to surrender, and that nominally without the aid of the British fleet, which, however, lying off the mouth of the harbour, prevented Admiral Basille from capturing it. Money had been repulsed with considerable loss from before Valencia.<sup>1</sup>

But the greatest battle that had yet occurred in this war, was now to be fought for the purpose of opening Joseph's road to Madrid, whither Napoleon

[<sup>1</sup>] "Though of short duration, the resistance of Valencia is nothing less than marvellous," says the count de Foras. "She had no soldiers for the defence, her military garrison having been ordered to different places, no experienced leaders, no brave volunteers to lead the courageous peasants. The French lost two thousand men, amongst which were four generals of engineers, and other officers of high rank. Sheltered by their walls and batteries the Spaniards had but few comrades to mourn, and no person of importance."—



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had enjoined him to repair with all speed. Cuesta, with the army of Castile, and Blake with that of Galicia, had united at Rio Seco, where their combined forces amounted to thirty thousand men. Bessières attacked them on the 14th of July with little more than fifteen thousand. The superior skill and discipline of the French very soon prevailed over their courage and numbers. They lost five or six thousand men, killed and wounded, and twelve hundred prisoners. The two generals threw the blame on each other, and separated in mutual disgust. This victory cost Bessières less than four hundred men. Joseph pursued his journey; and on the 20th made his triumphant entry into Madrid. Orders had been given that the streets through which the procession was to pass should be decorated, according to Spanish custom, by hanging tapestry, etc., from the windows, and that the church bells should be rung. The inhabitants obeyed; but the tapestry they hung out was old, dirty, and ragged, and the bells tolled as for a funeral. The meanest of the populace scorned to pick up the money scattered amongst them as the king passed, leaving it to the French soldiers; and the theatres, which were opened gratis in honour of the day, were filled only by Frenchmen. The council of Castile, which had previously seemed disposed to submit, refused to take the oath required of them to the new sovereign and constitution, alleging that both must first receive the sanction of the nation through the cortes; and the Spanish soldiers, who did duty jointly with the French, deserted by whole guards at a time, leaving not a single sentinel at his post. The first tidings received by Joseph at Madrid were in harmony with the character of his reception.

Dupont had advanced prosperously, defeating all who opposed him, as far as Cordova, which he took by storm, but almost without resistance. However, Castaños, an old soldier, attacked Dupont with about double his numbers, and gained a victory so complete that at Baylen, whither four days of engagement had drawn the French main body, and upon the very day of Joseph's entrance into Madrid, Dupont, with nearly twenty thousand men, surrendered upon condition of being sent with his whole corps to France. The terms of the capitulation were afterwards broken by the vindictive rage of the peasantry, whom their generals could not control. Numbers were put to death, and the rest, instead of being sent to France, were confined in the hulks in the bay of Cadiz, where they suffered every kind of misery, and the greater part perished.<sup>c</sup> In its moral effects the battle of Baylen was one of those events which, insignificant in themselves, cause great changes in the affairs of nations. The defeat of Rio Seco, the preparations of Monecy for a second attack on Valencia, the miserable plight of Saragossa, the despondency of the ablest men of Spain, and the disgust and terror generally excited by the excesses of the populace, weighed heavy on the Spanish cause: one victory more, and the moral as well as the physical force of Spain would have been crushed. The victory of Baylen opened as it were a new crater for Spanish pride, vanity, and arrogance; the glory of past ages seemed to be renewed, every man thought himself a Cid, and, in the surrender of Dupont, saw, not the deliverance of Spain, but the immediate conquest of France. "We are obliged to our friends the English," was a common phrase among them when conversing with the officers of Sir John Moore's army; "we thank them for their goodwill, we shall escort them through France to Calais, the journey will be pleasanter than a long voyage: they shall not have the trouble of fighting the French, and we shall be pleased to have them spectators of our victories." This absurd confidence might have led to great things, but it was a voice — nothing more.<sup>b</sup>

Madrid, upon which the victorious **Andalusian** army could now advance unopposed, was no longer deemed a residence for Joseph; and on the 31st of July, after a residence of ten days, having summoned Bessieres from the pursuit of Blake and Cuesta to protect his retreat, the king and his party evacuated the capital, and withdrew to Vitoria. Another triumph obtained soon afterwards by the Spaniards was the successful defence of Saragossa.

On the morning of the 4th of August, after feigning an attack upon the Aljaferia and gate of Portillo, the formidable battery of San Engracia was suddenly set to work, twenty-six pieces simultaneously vomited fire upon the convent of this name, and nearly all the defenders of it perished in the ruins. At five o'clock, all the batteries of Saragossa were levelled; the French, crossing the Huerva, precipitated themselves into the town by two wide breaches. Then followed fierce hand-to-hand fights, sustained with desperate valour among the dead bodies and ruins. At the fiercest moment of the fight, General Verdier caused the following brief message to be brought to Palafox: "Peace and capitulation!" "War and steel!" answered without hesitation the leader of the men of Saragossa. The bloody contest was continued; trampling on the dead the French advanced triumphantly. But the news of Baylen caused them to raise the siege.

#### THE ENGLISH APPEAR

At this period of the war a new actor appeared upon the stage, upon whom thenceforward, the fortune of the peninsula mainly depended. On the 12th of July, 1808, the British expedition sailed from Cork; and its commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, as soon as the whole was fairly under way, preceded it in a frigate, in order to gather the information requisite for regulating its destination. Landing was made in Mondego Bay. It was the 5th of August before all the troops were on shore. Spencer having arrived during the landing, his junction raised the numbers of the little army to thirteen thousand; and with them Sir Arthur began his march towards Lisbon.

Upon receiving intelligence of Sir Arthur's landing, Junot sent Laborde, one of the ablest of the French generals, from Lisbon, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse to check the progress of the British; and calling in his various detachments, he ordered them severally to effect their junction with Laborde. Under these circumstances, the English commander's object was to prevent the junction of the several detachments—an object which the skill and celerity of his movements enabled him, in the most important instance, to effect. Wellesley was thus enabled to attack Laborde at Roliça on the 17th of August, with great numerical superiority. He drove him from his position with comparative facility; but Laborde fell back about a mile to much stronger ground, where he again awaited the English, and here the battle was sanguinary. Laborde, after displaying both skill and intrepidity, abandoned the contest, retreating in good order.

After the victory was gained, Sir Arthur, now reinforced to about sixteen thousand men, proposed turning the left flank of the position occupied by Junot and his united forces—about fourteen thousand men—and endeavouring to cut him off from Lisbon. But, unfortunately, Sir Arthur Wellesley was no longer commander-in-chief. The English ministry had not known how to appreciate the man whose extraordinary talents had as yet only been tried in India; and three senior officers had been appointed to

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supersede him, and, as it proved, each other. The nomination of one of these could not be blamed, for Sir John Moore then certainly ranked higher in public estimation as a general than Sir Arthur Wellesley; but Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple had never been in situations to display military capacity. Sir Harry Burrard arrived on the very day that the reinforcements joined Sir Arthur; and with all the caution of old age refused to sanction the advance of an army deficient in cavalry and artillery horses, especially as ten thousand men were daily expected with Sir John Moore.

On the morning of the 21st, Junot fell upon the British army, with the impetuosity characterising his countrymen and Napoleon's warriors. They were, however, repulsed in every attack; the defects of the position, and the almost total want of cavalry, were immediately remedied by the ability of the general, and the loss was far greater on the side of the French, and less on that of the British, than at Roliza. The battle was over by noon; a considerable portion of the army had not been engaged, and Sir Arthur proposed to follow up his victory, pursue the retreating enemy, cut him off from Lisbon, and thus deliver the capital from the French yoke. Again Burrard's caution prevailed to forbid the pursuit, and still the army remained at Vimieiro.

Sir Harry Burrard's authority expired almost as soon as he had thus unfortunately used it; and on the 22nd Sir Hew Dalrymple landed to take the supreme command. On the evening of the same day, before he could well make himself master of the state of affairs, General Kellermann was sent by Junot to the British camp to propose an armistice, and the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops upon conditions. Such as it was, the so-called Convention of Cintra was signed, and Portugal delivered from her conquerors, on the 30th of August, within a month of General Wellesley's landing.

The authority of Queen Maria and the prince-regent was now restored throughout Portugal. Sir Hew Dalrymple reinstated the council of regency appointed by the prince at his departure, and began his preparations for entering Spain. He was, however, recalled to stand a sort of trial for concluding the Convention of Cintra which provoked wild rage in England; Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Arthur Wellesley returned home to give evidence upon the subject, and the command devolved upon Sir John Moore.

About sixty thousand French troops were now left in Spain. But the British army with all its reinforcements did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. Sir John Moore was of a temperament rather desponding than sanguine: although a brave and able officer, he had not the self-reliance characteristic of a master-mind, and the conduct of the Spaniards abundantly justified his mistrust of the allies, in co-operation with whom he was required to risk an army too valuable to be rashly hazarded, but too small singly to engage the French forces now concentrated upon the Ebro. But now that Spanish energy had driven the intrusive king and his foreign troops almost to the foot of the Pyrenees, Spanish pride deemed all accomplished, and the restraints that had compelled union were no more. Provincial ambition, local, and even individual interests, jealousy, and intrigue tainted the patriotism of the juntas.

Meanwhile discussions were going on as to the mode of government to be adopted. Florida-Blanca, the president of the Murcian junta, and the Council of Castile (which, on the evacuation of Madrid, had there assumed the reins of government) strongly pointed out the necessity of some central executive power, and the evils resulting from the existing anarchy of independent juntas. The convocation of the cortes, or the choice of a Sicilian

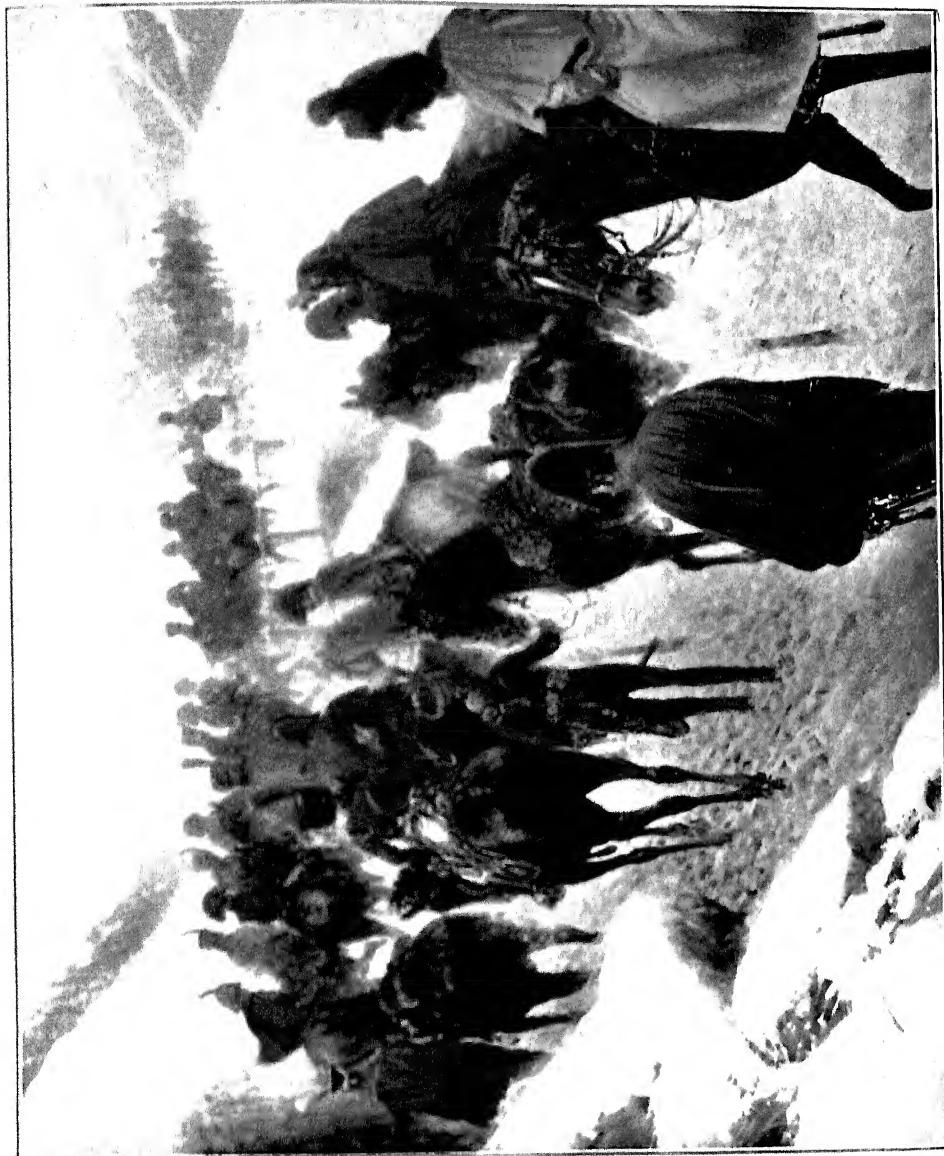
prince as regent, were proposed, amongst other expedients. At length it was agreed that each junta should send two deputies from its own body to form a central and sovereign junta, each separate junta, however, still governing its own province. The central junta was installed at Aranjuez on the 26th of September. Florida Blanca, one of the Murcian deputies, was chosen president (Jovellanos was the only other member of much reputation), and its first measure was a solemn proclamation of Ferdinand VII.

France was now pouring one hundred thousand additional men into Spain, Ney, duke of Elchingen, temporarily holding the command until the emperor should arrive from Erfurt to rule the war in person. The French army was, however, still waiting Napoleon's arrival to make a forward movement, when the Spaniards, to the number of 130,000 men, formed in a crescent around them.

One of Sir Arthur Wellesley's reasons for approving the Convention of Cintra had been that it immediately set the English army at liberty to enter Spain. But this advantage was either neglected or lost in the care of investigating the circumstances of that convention. It was not till the beginning of October that Sir John Moore received orders to enter Spain, and co-operate with the armies assembled around the French. Sir David Baird was, at the same time, sent to Corunna with ten thousand men, to act under Moore, who appointed Salamanca for their junction. Neither food nor means of transport had been provided; Baird was unfurnished with pecuniary resources, whilst the Galician and Austrian juntas, though so abundantly supplied by the profuse munificence of the English ministry, refused the troops of their benefactors every kind of succour. Indeed, most of the juntas appear to have misapplied the money sent by England to their own purposes, and often to have made no use whatever of the arms and stores. Moore could not cross the frontiers till the 11th of November; and the absurd precipitation of the central junta, and of those inexperienced generals who were equal in authority to Castanos, had already brought the Spanish forces into collision with the French. After many days' skirmishing and manœuvring, Blake had been defeated, October 30th, by Lefebvre, but had retreated, rallied his men, and being joined by some of La Romana's troops, again made head.

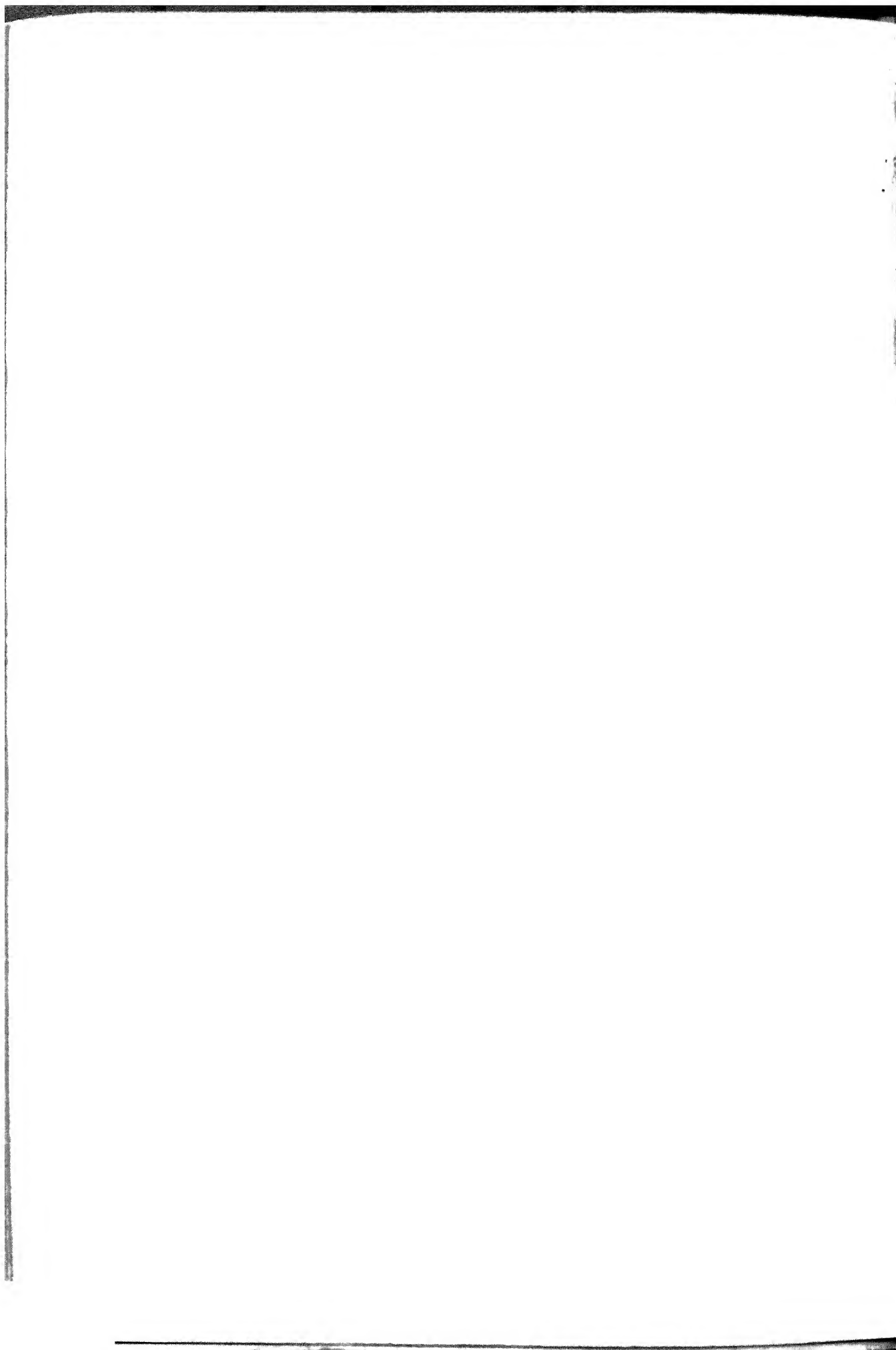
Napoleon himself entered Spain on the 8th of November, and the influence of his genius was immediately apparent. On the 19th, Soult, duke of Dalmatia, attacked, defeated, and utterly routed Belvedere. He then turned upon the line of retreat of Blake, whom Victor, duke of Belluno, defeated at Espinosa on the 11th, and Soult finally annihilated at Revueca on the 13th. The greater part of the veterans brought back from the Baltic were destroyed in Blake's successive defeats. Blake fled to the Asturian mountains, where he reunited the relics of his army, and met La Romana, who, though disappointed in all his schemes, assumed the command of these routed troops, and exerted himself strenuously to re-organise and reinforce them. The emperor now turned his force against Castanos and Palafox, whilst his cavalry swept the plains of Leon and Castile. On the 23rd, Lamarmora attacked Castanos and Palafox at Tudela, and completely routed them.

Napoleon now advanced upon Madrid, and on the 30th reached and attacked the Somosierra. The pass was defended by General San Juan; his troops fled after firing one volley, and afterwards sought to excuse their panic by accusing their unfortunate commander of treachery, and murdering him. The French crossed the mountains almost unopposed, and appeared before Madrid. In the moment of danger the inefficiency of the central



NAPOLÉON IN THE PYRENEES

(From the painting by Chelminski)





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junta became apparent. On the approach of the French armies the whole body fled towards Badajoz.

Napoleon appeared before Madrid on the 2nd of December, and summoned the city to surrender, with fearful threats in case of resistance. On the morning of the 5th Morla surrendered Madrid. The emperor took possession of the palace of the kings of Spain; and in his proclamations threatened the Spaniards that, unless by their conduct they earned Joseph's pardon, he would find another kingdom for his brother, and make Spain a



CUENCA

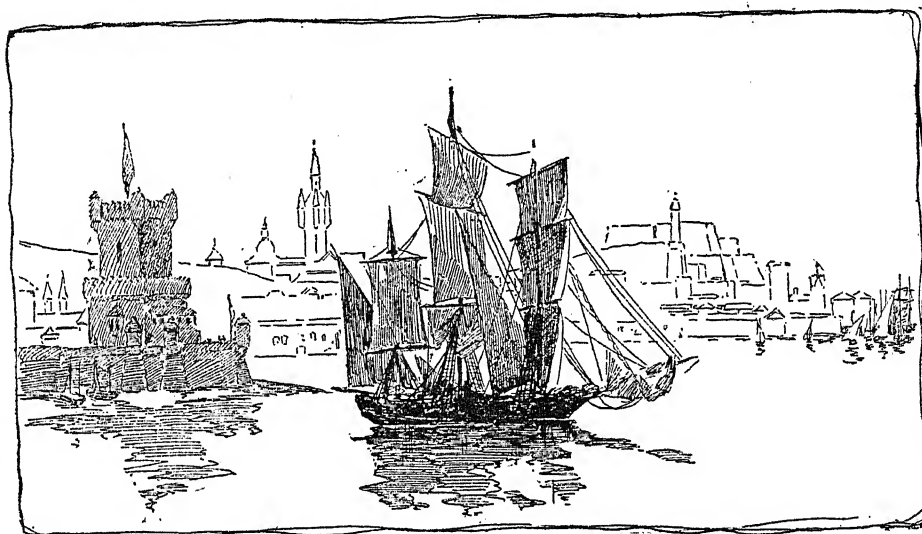
French province. Such threats were not adapted to conciliate the haughty Spaniards; and the really beneficial decrees he promulgated, diminishing the exorbitant power of the clergy and the number of monks and nuns, by exasperating the whole ecclesiastical body, confirmed the nation in its enmity to him and his dynasty. Regardless of this enmity, however, Napoleon prepared to overrun and subjugate Portugal and the south of Spain with his grand army, whilst a division of thirty-five thousand men again besieged Saragossa. The central junta continued its fight to Seville, and the troops, which the different generals had rallied in considerable numbers, prepared to defend the Sierra Morena and the Tagus.

## MOORE'S FAMOUS RETREAT

Moore's situation was unquestionably one of great difficulty. The French are stated to have had two hundred thousand men in Spain; he could not bring into the field above twenty-five thousand; Madrid had fallen; and of the Spanish armies nothing remained within his reach but the few thousands, half clothed and half armed, that La Romana was endeavouring to organise. Moore had lost all confidence in Spanish professions, and was convinced that Frere, who vehemently urged him to attempt something,

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was deceived by his zeal in the Spanish cause and his ignorance of the Spanish character. Nevertheless Moore resolved to make such a diversion as should recall Napoleon from the south and from Portugal, and, if possible, to destroy Soult, who was within his reach with inferior numbers, before he could be reinforced. But he undertook this bold and generous enterprise with a heavy heart, and, as appears from his own letters, as sacrificing his own judgment to what he knew were the expectations of the British public. Moore began his movement on the 11th, effected his junction with Baird, and reached Sahagun on the 21st of December. There he halted two days for his supplies, meaning to attack Soult on the 24th. But on the 23rd he received information that Napoleon, upon hearing of his advance, had suspended all his operations in the south and west, and was marching in full force against the English. The projected diversion was thus accomplished;



LISBON IN 1800  
(From an old Spanish print)

and he began his retreat towards Galicia, where he proposed embarking, and carrying his army southwards to join the Spanish forces collecting in Andalusia. The retreat was most disastrous. Officers and men disliked it; the bonds of discipline were early relaxed, and the bulk of the army was a mere drunken mob, never resuming any semblance of order or propriety except when there appeared a prospect of a battle. Then all were again found British soldiers.<sup>c</sup>

Before discussing this famous disaster we may quote the words of H. M. Stephens,<sup>d</sup> who, after calling Moore "the only English general who has gained lasting fame by the conduct of a retreat," and referring to his death as showing "how a modern Bayard should die in battle—every thought for others, none for himself," thus sums up his position in history:

"It may be possible, in the face of his heroic death, to exaggerate Moore's actual military services, but his influence on the British army cannot be overrated. The true military spirit of discipline and of valour, both in officers and men, had become nearly extinct during the American war. Abercromby, who looked back to the traditions of Minden, was the first to

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attempt to revive it, and his work was carried on by Moore. The formation of the light regiments at Shorncliffe was the answer to the new French tactics, and it was left to Wellington to show the success of the experiment. Moore's powers as a statesman are shown in his despatches written at Salamanca, and he had the truest gift of a great man—that of judging men. It may be noticed that, while Wellington perpetually grumbled at the bad qualities of his officers and formed no school, Moore's name is associated with the career of all who made their mark. Among generals, Hope, Graham, Sir E. Paget, Hill, and Craufurd, all felt and submitted to his ascendancy, and of younger officers it was ever the proud boast of the Napiers, Colborne, the Beckwiths, and Barnard that they were the pupils of Moore, not of Wellington. Nay more, he inspired an historian. The description of Moore's retreat in Napier<sup>i</sup> is perhaps the finest piece of military history in the English language, not only because the author was present, but because his heart was with the leader of that retreat; and, if Napier felt towards Wellington as the soldiers of the Tenth legion felt towards Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> he felt towards Moore the personal love and devotion of a cavalier towards Montrose."

We can do no better than quote at some length Napier's famous account from his work, which has been favourably compared with those of Thucydides, Xenophon, and Cæsar.<sup>a</sup>

*Napier's Story of Moore's Retreat*

That Moore succoured Spain in her extremity, and, in her hour of weakness, intercepted the blow descending to crush her, no man of candour can deny. For what troops, what preparations, what courage, what capacity was there in the south to have resisted even for an instant the progress of a man like Napoleon, who, in ten days and in the depth of winter, crossing the snowy ridge of the Carpentinos, had traversed two hundred miles of hostile country, and transported fifty thousand men from Madrid to Astorga in a shorter time than a Spanish courier would have taken to travel the same distance? This stupendous march was rendered fruitless by the quickness of Moore; but Napoleon, though he failed to destroy the English army, resolved, nevertheless, to cast it forth from the peninsula. Being himself recalled to France by tidings that the Austrian storm was ready to burst, he fixed upon Soult to continue the pursuit. Including Laborde, Heudelet, and Loison's division, nearly sixty thousand men and ninety-one guns were put on the track of the English army.

Soult, nowise inferior to any of his nation, if the emperor be excepted, followed Moore with vigour. Nineteen thousand British troops posted in strong ground might have offered battle to very superior numbers; yet where was the use of merely fighting an enemy who had three hundred thousand men in Spain? Nothing could be gained, but Moore might by a quick retreat reach his ships unmolested, and carry his army from that narrow corner to the southern provinces and renew the war under more favourable circumstances. But in the immense wine-vaults of Bembibre hundreds of men remained inebriated, the followers of the army crowded the houses, and many of Romana's disbanded men were mixed with this heterogeneous mass of marauders, drunkards, muleteers, women, and children. Moore, leaving a small guard with them, proceeded to Calcabellos. At Calcabellos the reserve took up a position, Baird marched to Herrerias, and Moore went on to

[<sup>1</sup> These are Napier's words in dedicating his great work to Wellington.]

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Villa Franca; but in that town also great excesses had been committed by the preceding divisions; the magazines were plundered, the bakers driven from the ovens, the wine-stores forced, the commissaries prevented making the regular distributions; the doors of the houses were broken, and a scandalous insubordination then showed a discreditable relaxation of discipline by the officers. Moore arrested this disorder, and caused one man taken in the act of plundering a magazine to be hanged in the market-place.

Under the most favourable circumstances, the tail of a retreating force exhibits terrible scenes of distress, and on the road near Nogales the followers of the army were dying fast from cold and hunger. The soldiers, barefooted, harassed, and weakened by their excesses at Bemibre and Villa Franca, were dropping to the rear by hundreds, while broken carts, dead animals, and the piteous spectacle of women and children, struggling or falling exhausted in the snow, completed a picture of war, which like Janus has a double face.

The British army was not provided to fight above one battle; there were no draught cattle, no means of transporting reserve ammunition, no magazines, no hospitals, no second line, no provisions: a defeat would have been ruin, a victory useless. A battle is always a serious affair; two battles in such circumstances, though both should be victories, would have been destruction. A terrible storm of wind and rain, mixed with sleet, commenced as the army broke up from the position at Lugo; the marks were destroyed, the guides lost the true direction, only one of the divisions gained the main road, the other two were bewildered, and when daylight broke the rear columns were still near to Lugo. The fatigue, the depression of mind occasioned by this misfortune, and the want of shoes broke the order of the march, stragglers became numerous, and unfortunately Baird, thinking to relieve the men during a halt which took place in the night, desired the leading division to take refuge from the weather in some houses a little way off the road. Complete disorganisation followed this imprudent act. The commander-in-chief, who covered this march with the reserve and cavalry, ordered several bridges to be destroyed, but the engineers failed of success in every attempt.

As the troops approached Corunna, on January 12th, 1809, the general's looks were directed towards the harbour, but an expanse of water painfully convinced him that to fortune at least he was in no way beholden; contrary winds still detained the fleet at Vigo, and the last consuming exertion made by the army was rendered fruitless. The men were put into quarters, and their leader awaited the progress of events. The reserve was posted between the village of El Burgo and the road of Santiago de Compostella. For twelve days these hardy soldiers had covered the retreat, during which time they traversed eighty miles of road in two marches, passed several nights under arms in the snow of the mountains, were seven times engaged, and now took the outposts having fewer men missing from the ranks, including those who had fallen in battle, than any other division in the army: an admirable instance of the value of good discipline, and a manifest proof of the malignant injustice with which Moore has been accused of precipitating his retreat beyond the measure of human strength.

Now a painful measure was adopted; the ground in front of Corunna is impracticable for cavalry, the horses were generally foundered, it was impossible to embark them all in the face of an enemy, and a great number were reluctantly ordered to be shot; worn down and foot-broken, they would otherwise have been distributed among the French cavalry, or used as draught cattle until death relieved them from procrastinated suffering.

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But the very fact of their being so foundered was one of the results of inexperience; the cavalry had come out to Corunna without proper equipments, the horses were ruined, not for want of shoes but want of hammers and nails to put them on. Soon the French gathered on the Mero, and Moore sought a position of battle. On the evening of the 14th the transports from Vigo hove in sight; the dismounted cavalry, the sick, the best horses, and fifty pieces of artillery were embarked, six British and three Spanish guns being kept on shore for action. When Laborde's division arrived, on the 15th, the French force was not less than twenty thousand men, and Soult made no idle evolutions of display. Distributing his lighter guns along the front of his position, he opened a fire from the heavy battery on his left, and instantly descended the mountain with three columns covered by clouds of skirmishers. The ground about that village was intersected by stone walls and hollow roads; a severe scrambling fight ensued, the French were forced back with great loss, but, being reinforced, renewed the fight beyond the village. Major Napier,<sup>1</sup> commanding the 50th, was wounded and taken prisoner, and Elvina then became the scene of another contest. The line of the skirmishers being supported vigorously, checked the advance of the enemy's troops in the valley; at the same time the centre and left of the army also became engaged, and a furious action ensued along the line, in the valley, and on the hills. Sir John Moore, while earnestly watching the result of the fight about the village of Elvina, was struck on the left breast by a cannon-shot.

Notwithstanding this great disaster the troops gained ground, and when the night set in, their line was considerably advanced beyond the original position of the morning, while the French were falling back in confusion. Their disorder facilitated the original plan of embarking during the night. Hope, upon whom the command had devolved, resolved therefore to ship the army, and so complete were the arrangements that no confusion or difficulty occurred; the pickets kindled fires to cover the retreat, and were themselves withdrawn at daybreak to embark under the protection of Hill's brigade, which was in position under the ramparts of Corunna.

When the morning of the sixteenth dawned, the French, seeing the British position abandoned, pushed some battalions to the heights of San Lucia, and about midday opened a battery on the shipping in the harbour. This caused great confusion amongst the transports, several masters cut their

<sup>1</sup> The author's eldest brother; he was said to be slain. When the French renewed the attack on Elvina, he was somewhat in advance of that village, and alone, for the troops were scattered by the nature of the ground. Being hurt in the leg, he endeavoured to retire, but was overtaken, and thrown to the ground with five wounds; a French drummer rescued him, and when a soldier with whom he had been struggling made a second attempt to kill him, the drummer once more interfered. The morning after the battle Marshal Soult sent his own surgeon to Major Napier, and, with a kindness and consideration very uncommon, wrote to Napoleon, desiring that his prisoner might not be sent to France, which from the system of refusing exchanges would have ruined his professional prospect; the drummer also received the cross of the Legion of Honour. When the 2nd corps quitted Corunna, Marshal Soult recommended his prisoner to the attention of Marshal Ney. The latter, treating him rather with the kindness of a friend than the civility of an enemy, lodged him with the French consul, supplied him with money, gave him a general invitation to his house, and not only refrained from sending him to France, but when by a flag of truce he knew that Major Napier's mother was mourning for him as dead, he permitted him, and with him the few soldiers taken in the action, to go at once to England, merely exacting a promise that none should serve until exchanged. I would have not touched at all upon these private adventures, were it not that gratitude demands a public acknowledgment of such generosity, and that demand is rendered more imperative by the after misfortunes of Marshal Ney. That brave and noble-minded man's fate is but too well known. He who had fought five hundred battles for France, not one against her, was shot as a traitor! Could the bitterest enemy of the Bourbons have more strongly marked the difference between their interests and those of the nation?

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cables, and four vessels went on shore, but the troops were rescued by the men-of-war's boats, the stranded vessels burned, and the fleet got out of harbour. Hill then embarked at the citadel, which was maintained by a rearguard under Beresford until the 18th, when, the wounded being all on board, the troops likewise embarked; the inhabitants faithfully maintained the town meanwhile, and the fleet sailed for England. The loss of the British, never officially published, was estimated at eight hundred; of the French at three thousand. The latter is probably an exaggeration, yet it must have been great.

From the spot where he fell, the general was carried to the town by his soldiers; his blood flowed fast and the torture of the wound was great; yet the unshaken firmness of his mind made those about him, seeing the resolution of his countenance, express a hope of his recovery: he looked steadfastly at the injury for a moment, and said: "No, I feel that to be impossible." Several times he caused his attendants to stop and turn round, that he might behold the field of battle; and when the firing indicated the advance of the British, he discovered his satisfaction and permitted the bearers to proceed. When life was almost extinct, with an unsubdued spirit, as if anticipating the baseness of his posthumous calumniators, he exclaimed: "I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice." In a few minutes afterwards he died, and his corpse, wrapped in a military cloak, was interred by the officers of his staff in the citadel of Corunna. The guns of the enemy paid his funeral honours, and Soult with a noble feeling of respect for his valour raised a monument to his memory on the field.<sup>b</sup>

#### *A Spanish Opinion of the Retreat*

English historians, especially Napier,<sup>b</sup> are so severe in their aspersions on the Spanish that it is only fair to give the words of a Spanish historian and contemporary, the count de Toreño, who says:

"The residents of Corunna with disinterested zeal not only assisted the English, but also kept faith with them, and did not immediately surrender the fortress, a noble example rarely given by towns when they see themselves abandoned by those from whom they expected protection and aid. So ended General Moore's retreat, censured by some among his own compatriots, upheld and even praised by others. Leaving the investigation and criticism of this campaign to military men, we are of opinion that the chance of being compelled to fight before his troops embarked, and also his having ended his days honourably on the field of battle, have lent lustre to the glory and good name of General Moore. For the rest, if a veteran well-disciplined army such as the English, provided with abundant supplies, began a retreat before combating, in the progress of which retreat there were witnessed such disorders, such damage, such scandals, who can wonder that there were disorders and confusion in the Spanish retreats, executed after fighting, with an army of raw recruits, lacking all resources, and in their own country? We do not say this to detract from British glory, but in defence of our own, so reviled by certain English writers — by those indeed who took part in this disastrous campaign."<sup>f</sup>

#### FRENCH SUCCESSES

In Catalonia an attempt by the Spaniards to recover Barcelona was defeated by St. Cyr, who likewise took Rosas. In Galicia La Romana sheltered himself and his little band amidst the mountains, whilst Soult overran



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the province ; Corunna surrendered to him as soon as the English troops were safe on board, and Ferrol followed its example, delivering up the squadron in its port.

On the 22nd of January, 1809, Joseph returned to Madrid. His second entrance does not appear to have called forth the same demonstrations of national feeling as the first. The municipality and the several councils received him with loud professions of loyalty, and all the population took the oath of allegiance.

Saragossa had been invested by Marshal Moncey the 20th of December, 1808, and summoned to surrender ; Palafox gave the answer that might be expected from his conduct in the former siege, and with his brave townsmen prepared to stand a second, yet more destructive. For a while the siege languished, and dissension existed amongst the besieging generals. But, on the 22nd of January, 1809, Lannes assumed the command ; and on the 1st of February the besiegers forced their entrance into the town, and for three weeks the struggle, street by street and house by house, was maintained, with all the circumstances of affecting heroism recorded on the former occasion. But the numbers that had thronged to defend Saragossa were her bane : pestilence was engendered in the crowded cellars, and proved a yet more deadly foe than the French. The posts were manned by hospital patients, sitting, because they could not stand ; Palafox was in his bed delirious ; and on the 22nd of February the junta capitulated. Lannes violated the capitulation in many points, and sent Palafox, whose liberty had been stipulated, prisoner to France. The central junta loaded the city and all its inhabitants and defenders with praises, honour, and rewards.<sup>1</sup>

The re-conquest of Portugal was now the object of the French. Soult was appointed governor of that kingdom, and ordered to invade it from the north, whilst Victor and Lapisse were to co-operate with him, the former in the south, and the latter from Ciudad Rodrigo.

Soult took Oporto by storm on the 29th of March, fixed his headquarters there, and seems to have meditated becoming king of northern Lusitania, if not of Portugal. But Oporto was the limit of his conquest. Behind him La Romana, who had rallied his constantly increasing army, found Ney full employment, and Silveira was again master of Tras-os-Montes. In the south Victor could not invade Alemtejo till he should have defeated Cuesta and the Estremaduran army ; and Lapisse could not make himself master of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended chiefly by Sir Robert Wilson with his Lusitanian legion. This legion was the first attempt, in the course of the war, to improve the Portuguese soldiers, by placing them under British officers. The prince of Brazil was induced to send General Beresford a commission as field-marshal and general-in-chief of the Portuguese army. With this commission, Beresford landed early in March, and immediately proceeded to train the troops and to place over them as many effective English officers as he thought national jealousy would bear (always, however, nominally commanded by a native colonel).

Bonaparte is calculated to have had at this time about 270,000 men in

[<sup>1</sup> As Napier<sup>2</sup> points out, however, though the Spanish glorify this siege and called Saragossa "Spain," for her bravery : "Deprive the transaction of its dazzling colours, and it shows thus : Thirty-five thousand French, in the midst of insurrections, and despite of circumstances peculiarly favourable to the defence, reduced fifty thousand of the bravest and most energetic men in Spain. The latter suffered nobly, but was their example imitated ? Gerona indeed, although less celebrated, rivalled, perhaps more than rivalled, the glory of Saragossa ; elsewhere her fate spoke, not trumpet-tongued to, arouse, but with a wailing voice that carried dismay to the heart of the nation."]



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They did so, and Galicia remained thenceforward unmolested by invaders. In their progress southwards the two marshals were joined by Mortier, and Soult received from Napoleon the command of the combined corps with orders to march upon the English and Cuesta. The Spaniards stationed to secure the mountain passes fled; and Sir Arthur led the British army against this new foe, intrusting to Cuesta the maintenance of the post of Talavera. An apprehension of Victor's advancing anew induced Cuesta to evacuate Talavera, and he hastened after Wellesley, leaving fifteen hundred British wounded to the enemy, whilst it is said many of his own carts were removed empty. This step, and Soult's advance in unexpected strength, exposed Sir Arthur to be cut off from Portugal. His troops were starving; and as the protection of Portugal was the point chiefly insisted upon in his instructions, he retreated to a frontier position on the Guadiana. Venegas was defeated at Almonacid. Blake's army of Aragon and Valencia had been beaten and dispersed; and the fall of Spain appeared to be inevitable. Venegas' repeated defeats had now made him so unpopular that the command of his army was taken from him.

Meanwhile the central junta exerted themselves to reinforce Cuesta's army, which had been surprised and half destroyed by the enemy since its separation from the English; and they thought of removing the unmanageable general. A paralytic stroke saved them that trouble, by compelling him to resign. The command of the principal army of fifty thousand men was given to Areizaga who was ordered to free Madrid, before the reinforcements, set at liberty by the end of the Austrian war, could reach Spain. The same peculiarity of the Spanish character, namely, assuming as done whatever is promised, or even wished, seems to have convinced the inexperienced statesmen of the central junta that the general they had sent to conquer could not be beaten, and that a decree, ordering the English army to be well supplied, must answer every purpose, though they took no measures for procuring the provisions or the cattle required. Lord Wellington remained in his cantonments; and on the 17th of November, Areizaga was totally defeated at Ocaña. The French now menaced Portugal: the British general was prepared for its protection.

The French were masters of nearly all Spain north of the Sierra Morena, with the exception of Galicia, Valencia, and Catalonia; and in this last province, although it resisted most stoutly, the French army, under St. Cyr, held the field, and Gerona, one of the most important fortresses not in their hands, fell in December, after emulating the glory of Saragossa during a seven months' siege.<sup>1</sup> But their garrisons were distressed, and their

[<sup>1</sup> Lafuente gives the following incidents of the siege of Gerona: "The holy patron of the town, St. Narcissus, was named generalissimo, it being to his protection and intercession that the devout residents attributed their safety in the attacks and dangers of the wars of past times. Of the 900 men who garrisoned the fortress of Monjuich 511 soldiers and 18 officers had perished, and nearly all the rest were wounded before it was abandoned. It cost the French 3,000 men to conquer the ruins. Whenever the limited number of the garrison permitted, Alvarez ordered sallies to be made by small bodies of men. It is related how, on the occasion of one of these sallies, the officer who was to direct it was asked where he would take refuge in case of necessity. 'In the cemetery,' he replied.

"When November had set in the town was ravaged by pestilence, while it suffered from the horrors of famine. Even the most unclean animals were bought at an exorbitant price and devoured. Emaciated, and no less hungry than the men, the very animals fell upon and ate one another. Pools of stagnant water full of refuse were seen in the streets; scattered here and there lay the unburied corpses; for the living there was neither shelter nor rest; the air was pestilential and disease was abroad; the overfull hospitals lacked remedies for the sick. During the month of November, 1,378 soldiers alone died. The spirits of the strongest and most valiant began to fail, and yet the dauntless governor Alvarez seized or harshly turned away the emissaries despatched by the French general to advise him to surrender. And upon hearing



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irregular Portuguese troops were treated with wanton cruelty, and their women exposed to the grossest outrage from the French soldiery, until almost every individual in the Spanish guerilla bands, and the Portuguese irregulars, had a private injury to revenge; and even sympathy in their resentments can barely palliate the sanguinary temper in which that revenge was sought. And to these personal motives of exasperation was added a deep sense of religious horror, since the French emperor had seized upon the estates of the church, upon Rome itself, and carried Pope Pius VII, who refused to sanction his spoliation, a prisoner to France. From the influence of so many various feelings, the whole of Spain was now overrun by fierce guerillas, and Joseph, in fact, was only master of the places actually occupied by French soldiers.

As soon as the French movements threatened Portugal, Lord Wellington could not hope, with 27,000 British, and 30,000 nearly untried Portuguese troops, to defend Portugal against 80,000 French veterans, led by an able general, and supported by bodies of 30,000 or 40,000 men, acting as a rear-guard.

## THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS

The British commander was even then directing the construction of those military works, known as the lines of Torres Vedras, by which the naturally strong ground covering Lisbon was rendered nearly impregnable; and his main object upon the frontier appears to have been retarding the enemy's advance, until those lines should be perfected and the harvest gathered in. He intended that the inhabitants should then evacuate the intermediate district, with all their provisions and movable property; and that he himself, retreating to his lines, should draw Masséna into a desert country, where the French marshal could not subsist his troops, and would find himself confronted by a strong army, in an impregnable position, whilst his rear and communications were harassed by militia and *ordenanzas*, the proper name of the Portuguese armed peasantry.

Masséna, recently created by his imperial master, the prince of Essling, dedicated the spring to assembling his army, and making preparations; nor was it until he began the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo that the line by which he proposed to invade Portugal was ascertained. That town was gallantly defended by its governor, Herrasti, assisted by the guerilla chief, Sanchez, from the 4th of June till the 10th of July, 1810. When the place was no longer tenable, Sanchez and his band, breaking through the besiegers, escaped, and Herrasti capitulated. Lord Wellington's plan required that he should hazard no attempt to relieve the besieged,<sup>1</sup> but his menacing position had long kept Masséna's usually enterprising temper in check, and continued to do so; for upwards of a month was suffered to elapse after the fall of

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish historian, the count de Toreño, says of this siege:

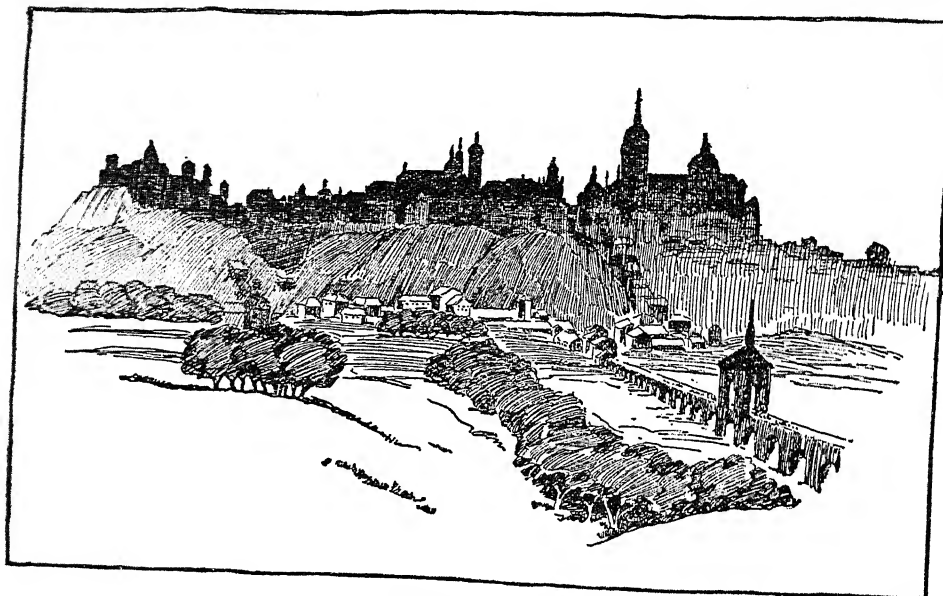
"All the residents, without distinction of class, age, or sex, rushed to the assistance of the troops. Lorenza, a woman of the people, distinguished herself among the women, being twice wounded; and even two blind men, one led by a faithful dog, employed themselves in useful works, ever smiling and jovial, visiting the posts of greatest danger, crying out above the hissing of the balls, 'Courage, boys; long live Ferdinand VII! Viva Ciudad Rodrigo!'

"The Spaniards were angered with the English for not assisting the town. Lord Wellington had come thither from the Guadiana disposed, and even as it were in honour bound to compel the French to raise the siege. In this case he could not put forward the usual excuse that the Spaniards did not defend themselves, or that by their want of concert they caused the failure of the well-matured plans of their allies. The marquis de la Romana came from Badajoz to Wellington's headquarters, and joined his prayers to those of the residents and authorities of Ciudad

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Ciudad Rodrigo ere the French general proceeded to lay siege to the neighbouring Portuguese fortress, Almeida.

The allied army, falling back as he advanced, offered no interruption. But an English officer commanded the Portuguese garrison in Almeida, and a defence yet longer than Ciudad Rodrigo's was confidently expected. An accident caused the explosion of the principal powder magazine on the 26th of August, when, through the panic of some and the treachery of others, the garrison flung down their arms, and forced the mortified governor to capitulate. Masséna concentrated his forces about the middle of September



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and prepared, as he hoped, to drive the British to their ships. Lord Wellington arranged his army upon the ridge of Busaco, and awaited the enemy. The French troops scaled the steep ascent with daring alacrity, but were driven down again with heavy loss. The French killed and wounded in this battle are estimated at from five to six thousand, those of the allies at twelve hundred: but perhaps not the least important event of the day was that the Portuguese troops displayed a steadiness of courage which had scarcely been as yet expected from their training. On the following day

Rodrigo, to those of the Spanish government, and even to those of some of the English. In vain! Wellington, determined not to take any step in the matter, remained obstinate.

.. Were we to imitate the example of certain English historians, a wide field is here open to us to fittingly reply to the unjust recriminations which such historians have largely and wrathfully poured out, with respect to the Spanish military operations. But with more impartiality than they have shown and following no other guide but truth, setting aside public opinion, we declare, on the contrary, that Lord Wellington acted as a prudent general if, to compel the enemy to raise the siege, it was necessary to risk a battle. His forces were not superior to the French, nor did the Portuguese troops possess that discipline and experience of fighting which gives self-confidence. A battle gained would have saved Ciudad Rodrigo, but it would not have ended the war; and had they lost it, the English army would have been destroyed, the enemy enabled to advance to Lisbon, and a terrible if not mortal blow have been dealt to the Spanish cause. The voice of public opinion deafened the ears of the government with complaints, qualifying the conduct of the English as at least tepid and indifferent."]



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Masséna, learning that there was a mountain road by which he could turn the left of his adversary's position, filed off his troops in that direction, vainly hoping to reach Coimbra the first. On the 29th Lord Wellington prevented him, by retreating upon that city along the direct road.

It was not till they actually saw the allied army retreating before the invaders that the inhabitants prepared to obey Lord Wellington's proclamation, and forsake their homes. And now it was too late to attain the end for which the order had been given. The provisions were left behind, the mills were scarcely damaged; whilst the helpless and desolate crowds that, flying from the enemy, accompanied the troops, encumbered their march, and gave birth to the usual disorders of a retreat. Such disorders were, however, repressed by the vigour with which Lord Wellington punished, and the precautions he took to prevent them; whilst Masséna's negligence indulged his troops in a license that rendered the disorder of the pursuing far greater than even now was that of the retreating army. At Coimbra alone the French troops, during the three days they spent there, wasted and destroyed stores that might have supplied two months' subsistence. But at Coimbra Masséna was still ignorant of the existence of the lines of Torres Vedras; and still believing that he was merely chasing the British to their ships, he probably saw no need of restraining his troops or of providing against famine.

On the 10th of October the allied army took up its position within those extraordinary lines, of which one end rested upon the sea, and the other upon the Tagus, extending in length twenty-nine miles, at about thirty-five miles average distance from Lisbon. The utmost skill of the engineer had been exerted to improve the natural strength of this mountain line, and to supply its deficiencies. A second line of fortifications had been prepared some ten miles nearer Lisbon, in case the first should be lost, or prove too extensive for the numbers occupying it; and a third to protect a possible forced embarkation. But this danger was happily gone by. Reinforcements arrived from England, additional Portuguese corps were assembled, and La Romana, at Lord Wellington's request, brought in two Spanish divisions. Before the end of the month seventy thousand regular troops were within the lines, ready to be moved, along convenient roads, to whatever points might be threatened, whilst sixty thousand Portuguese militia manned the different forts and redoubts that commanded the approaches.

Masséna halted in disagreeable surprise before the stupendous fortress. He was obliged to send foraging detachments to great distances; these were cruelly harassed, and sometimes cut off by the Portuguese militia and ordenanzas. Towards the middle of November, Masséna withdrew from before the lines, and took up a strong position at Santarem, upon the Tagus. Wellington, to observe him, stationed himself in advance of his lines, upon which he could fall back at a moment's warning.

Throughout the greater part of Spain meanwhile a desultory warfare had been carried on, in which the French were generally successful. Victor was conducting the siege of Cadiz, an operation that proceeded languidly on both sides, from want of numbers on Victor's, and the usual causes on that of the Spaniards.

The assembling of the cortes was looked to as the period and as the means of the regeneration of Spain. These hopes were confirmed, and the peculiar character of the Spanish resolution was, at the same time, curiously illustrated by the mode in which the elections were carried on, even in the provinces most thoroughly occupied by the French. Considerable bodies of

armed peasants, or of guerillas, sometimes temporarily drove the French from the town where an election was appointed to take place, sometimes merely held them at bay, whilst the suffrages were collected. And thus, almost everywhere, deputies were elected who, sooner or later, found their way to Cadiz. On the 24th of September, 1810, the cortes were solemnly opened. The assembly immediately decreed a new levy of 150,000 men, together with provision for the support and equipment of all the Spanish armies. But then, as if this decree had sufficed for expelling the enemy, who held the whole country in subjection, they dedicated their whole attention to framing a constitution, and to establishing sweeping theories, resembling those adopted by the French National Assembly, and equally democratic in their tenor. The disputes that ensued between the cortes and the regency ended in the dissolution of the latter body, for whom was substituted an executive council of three. The cortes offended the clergy by attacking the Inquisition, and attempting other ecclesiastical reforms for which the country was unripe, exasperated the whole church, and sowed the seeds of the fatal subsequent reaction that robbed Spain of all the internal benefits she ought to have derived from the restoration of her representative legislature.

Although they had allowed the colonies to send deputies to the cortes, they were not willing to treat the colonists as brethren. The colonies had unanimously professed their loyalty to Ferdinand, and their adhesion to the national cause. The emissaries employed by Napoleon and Joseph to seduce them had been everywhere derided and punished; and the American revenues, regularly conveyed to the mother-country by English vessels, ought, if fairly applied, to have done much towards supporting the war.

On the intelligence of the surrender of Seville, the subjugation of Andalusia, and the flight and dispersion of the central junta, the province of Caracas assumed that Spain was conquered; and, declaring that it never would submit to Joseph, cast off the authority of the mother-country whilst proclaiming inviolable fidelity to Ferdinand. This example was followed by the other provinces of Terra Firma, as the north coast of the South American continent was called; and on the 19th of April, 1810, the Venezuela confederation proclaimed its independent existence under Ferdinand VII. They refused to acknowledge the Cadiz regency and cortes, with whom they carried on a paper war; and those bodies, vehemently resenting this daring assertion of independence, divided the forces that should have been dedicated to the expulsion of the enemy from Spain, in order to compel colonial submission.

From the injudicious appointment to the chief command of the worst of all the Spanish generals, Lapeña, Cadiz must have fallen, if Soult had not been ordered by Napoleon to co-operate with Masséna against Portugal. Lapeña, to whom Graham, as a measure of conciliation, gave up the supreme command, stood inactive in a safe and distant post, with eleven thousand Spaniards, whilst at Barrosa, Graham, with little more than four thousand English and Portuguese, fought and defeated nearly nine thousand French. By the Spanish general's refusal even to pursue the beaten enemy, the benefit of this hardly won success was lost. The council and cortes approved of Lapeña's conduct: he claimed the merit of the victory, and Graham, in disgust, resigning his command to General Cooke, joined Lord Wellington. La Romana died on the 24th of January, 1811. Olivenza had capitulated on the 22nd, and the French laid siege to Badajoz. La Romana's successor, Mendizabal, was defeated by Soult; but Don Raphael Menacho, the governor of Badajoz, defended the place stoutly, and Soult remained before it. In

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Portugal the winter had passed with little alteration. Wellington and Masséna had spent it in watching each other.

By the end of February, 1811, the provisions, which the obstinacy of the regents had left to the French, were exhausted. Masséna learned from his partisans in Lisbon that English reinforcements had landed on the 2nd of March, and on the 6th he had evacuated Santarem and begun his retreat. He conducted it with great skill, stained, however, with as great and wanton cruelty. In fact, this retreat, though highly honourable to the general's abilities, remains one of the foulest blots upon the moral character of the French army.<sup>1</sup> But the pursuit was conducted by Lord Wellington with yet greater ability, every strong position taken by the French army being immediately turned by the British; and on the 5th of April Masséna was finally driven across the frontiers of Portugal. This retreat cost the French about six thousand men, and the allies a tenth of that number. Masséna's previous losses are estimated at twenty-five or thirty thousand.

## FAILURES IN SPAIN

Lord Wellington, having now again delivered Portugal, asked for such reinforcements as might enable him to undertake the deliverance of Spain, without being, as before, dependent upon the obstinate generals and feeble counsels of that country. But to the feasibility of his future schemes, and even to the maintenance of Portugal and of Cadiz, the recovery of Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz was indispensable. The first of these fortresses Wellington immediately blockaded, and directed Marshal Beresford to lay siege to the last.

Masséna, having refreshed, re-equipped, and reorganised his army in Spain, marched to relieve Almeida. His advance produced the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, fought on the 5th of May, in which, after an obstinate and sanguinary contest, they were repulsed, and again retreated. Brennier, the governor of Almeida, then despairing of relief, blew up the fortifications of the place, made his way, with little loss, through the British lines, and rejoined Masséna. Ciudad Rodrigo was next blockaded, but the French easily introduced convoys, and the blockade was abandoned. Little progress was made in the south. Some smaller places Marshal Beresford recovered; but he had scarcely invested Badajoz when the approach of Soult, with a powerful army, obliged him to raise the siege. He fought a battle at Albuera on the 16th of May. But the victory was purchased by the loss of forty-five hundred British, killed and wounded, out of six thousand, and twenty-six hundred Germans, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Lord Wellington arrived in Beresford's camp soon after the battle, and Badajoz was besieged a second time under his own direction.

On the night of the 5th of June an attempt was made to storm. It failed; was repeated two nights later, and again failed, both times with heavy loss. Upon this second repulse, as the combined French armies, to the amount of seventy thousand men, were approaching, Lord Wellington, who had but fifty-six thousand, and was particularly inferior to his adversaries in cavalry, raised the siege, and withdrew the troops to a strong position, limiting himself,

[<sup>1</sup> Napier, while admitting the harshness of Masséna's deeds, blames the Portuguese peasantry for many atrocities, and says that at least one of the worst outrages blamed upon Masséna's men — the pulling to pieces of João I's body — was actually done by the British themselves. Many of the charges against the French he declares not only slanderous but impossible.]

[1811-1812 A.D.]

for the present, to the defence of Portugal. No other war raged now to distract the attention of the French emperor; but he did not again take the command of the peninsular armies, and it is difficult to assign a valid reason for his conduct. He contented himself with sending reinforcements to the extent of fifty thousand men, naming Marmont, duke of Ragusa, to supersede Masséna, whose conduct of the invasion of Portugal he of course blamed; and placing Catalonia, like Aragon, under Suchet's command, and also Valencia when he should have conquered that province.

Suchet had deserved this confidence: he had done more than any other French general both to conquer Spain and to bend her to the yoke. Aragon was tolerably submissive; Tarragona, the last fortress of Catalonia, fell in June. Considering his work done in Catalonia, although guerilla bands still occupied the mountain fastnesses, and the bold and able Sarsfield watched every opportunity of directing them upon the French, Suchet next invaded Valencia. He defeated several detachments of the Spanish army, and on the 16th of October laid siege to Murviedro. Blake gave battle on the 25th of October, and was defeated. Upon this disaster, Murviedro capitulated, and Blake took another strong position to protect the capital, Valencia, where Suchet, on the 26th of December, again defeated him, driving him into Valencia. There Suchet besieged him, and compelled him to capitulate on the 8th of January, 1812. This campaign, the most successful the French had made in Spain since the first, Napoleon rewarded by creating Suchet duke of Albufera, and granting him the royal domain of that name in Valencia, as an inalienable fief of the French empire.

The dissensions with the colonies likewise diverted both the attention and the resources of the Spanish government from the vigorous prosecution of the war. In every American province insurrection now raged. In Mexico, after a severe struggle, the Spaniards regained the ascendancy. In South America the insurgents everywhere prevailed, as will be described later in the histories of Spanish America.

The year 1812 opened with an exploit, the brilliant rapidity of which seems equally to have confounded the French and enraptured the Spaniards. Lord Wellington had long been silently forwarding every preparation for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 8th of January, 1812, he suddenly appeared before the place, invested it, and on the 19th the town was stormed.<sup>c</sup> But throwing off the restraints of discipline, the British troops committed frightful excesses; the town was fired in three or four places, the soldiers menaced their officers and shot each other; many were killed in the market-place, intoxication soon increased the tumult, and at last, the fury rising to absolute madness, a fire was wilfully lighted in the middle of the great magazine, by which the town would have been blown to atoms but for the energetic courage of some officers and a few soldiers who still preserved their senses.

To recompense an exploit so boldly undertaken and so gloriously finished, Lord Wellington was created duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spaniards, earl of Wellington by the English, marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese.<sup>b</sup>

By disguising his designs, Lord Wellington hoped to master Badajoz like Ciudad Rodrigo, before Soult and Marmont should have time to hear of the siege, and unite their forces to raise it. On the 16th of March, 1812, Badajoz was invested. The works were hurried on with the diligence already practised, and on the 24th an important fort was carried by assault. On the 30th information was received that Soult was advancing with his

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whole disposable force to raise the siege; that Graham and Hill were retreating before him towards Albuera; that Marmont, taking advantage of the allied army's removal, had crossed the frontier, blockaded Ciudad Rodrigo, masked Almedai, and marched southwards, plundering and ravaging the country, as far as Castello Branco; and that the cavalry and militia, left to observe him, had fallen back, the latter upon the mountains, the former towards the Tagus. In consequence of this threatening intelligence, the siege was pressed with increased ardour; on the 6th of April three sufficient breaches were made; and on the night of that day they were stormed.<sup>c</sup>

The account of this desperate attack is perhaps the most dramatic, and is certainly the most famous, portion of Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, which, as we have already stated, is regarded as the most eminent military history in the English language. We quote herewith the greater part of what is a masterwork of literature describing a masterwork of heroism.<sup>a</sup>

## NAPIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE ASSAULT ON BADAJOZ

Dry but clouded was the night, the air thick with watery exhalations from the rivers, the ramparts and the trenches unusually still; yet a low murmur pervaded the latter, and in the former lights were seen to flit here and there, while the deep voices of the sentinels at times proclaimed that all was well at Badajoz. The French, confiding in Phillipon's direful skill, watched from their lofty station the approach of enemies whom they had twice before baffled, and now hoped to drive a third time blasted and ruined from the walls. The British, standing in deep columns, were as eager to meet that fiery destruction as the others were to pour it down, and both were alike terrible for their strength, their discipline, and the passions awakened in their resolute hearts. Former failures there were to avenge, and on both sides leaders who furnished no excuse for weakness in the hour of trial. The possession of Badajoz had become a point of personal honour with the soldiers of each nation, but the desire for glory with the British was dashed by a hatred of the citizens on an old grudge; and recent toil and hardship with much spilling of blood had made many incredibly savage; for these things render the noble-minded indeed averse to cruelty but harden the vulgar spirit: numbers also, like Cæsar's centurion, who could not forget the plunder of Avaricum, were heated with the recollection of Ciudad Rodrigo and thirsted for spoil. Thus every spirit found a cause of excitement, the wondrous power of discipline bound the whole together as with a band of iron, and in the pride of arms none doubted their might to bear down every obstacle that man could oppose to their fury.

At 10 o'clock, the castle, the San Roque, the breaches, the Pardaleras, the distant bastion of San Vincente, and the bridge-head on the other side of the Guadiana were to have been simultaneously assailed, and it was hoped the strength of the enemy would shrivel within that fiery girdle. But many are the disappointments of war. An unforeseen accident delayed the attack of the 5th division, and a lighted carcass thrown from the castle, falling close to the 3rd division, discovered their array and compelled them to anticipate the signal by half an hour. Then, everything being suddenly disturbed, the double columns of the 4th and light divisions also moved silently and swiftly against the breaches, and the guard of the trenches rushing forward with a shout encompassed the San Roque with fire and broke in so violently that scarcely any resistance was made. But a sudden blaze of light and the rattling of musketry indicated the commencement of a more vehement combat

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at the castle. There General Kempt—for Picton hurt by a fall in the camp, and expecting no change in the hour, was not present—there Kempt, I say, led the 3rd division. Having passed the Rivillas in single files by a narrow bridge under a terrible musketry, he had re-formed, and running up a rugged hill, reached the foot of the castle, where he fell severely wounded, and as he was carried back to the trenches met Picton, who was hastening to take the command.



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Meanwhile the troops, spreading along the front, had reared their heavy ladders, some against the lofty castle, some against the adjoining front on the left, and with incredible courage ascended amidst showers of heavy stones, logs of wood, and bursting shells rolled off the parapet, while from the flanks the enemy plied his musketry with fearful rapidity, and in front with pikes and bayonets stabbed the leading assailants or pushed the ladders from the walls; and all this was attended with deafening shouts and the crash of breaking ladders, and the shrieks of crushed soldiers answering to the sullen stroke of the falling weights. Still swarming round the remaining ladders those undaunted veterans strove who should first climb, until all being overturned, the French shouted victory, and the British, baffled but untamed, fell back a few paces and took shelter under the rugged edge of the hill. There the broken ranks were somewhat re-formed, and the heroic Ridge, springing forward, seized a ladder, and calling with stentorian voice on his men to follow, once more raised it against the castle, yet to the right of the former attack, where the wall was lower and an embrasure offered some facility. A second ladder was soon placed alongside of the first by the grenadier officer Canch, and the next instant he and Ridge were on the rampart, the shouting troops pressed after them, the garrison, amazed and in a manner surprised, were driven fighting through the double gate into the town, and the castle was won. A reinforcement from the French reserve then came up, a sharp action followed, both sides fired through the



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gate, and the enemy retired; but Ridge fell, and no man died that night with more glory—yet many died, and there was much glory.

All this time the tumult at the breaches was such as if the very earth had been rent asunder and its central fires bursting upwards uncontrolled. The two divisions had reached the glacis just as the firing at the castle commenced, and the flash of a single musket discharged from the covered way as a signal showed them that the French were ready; yet no stir was heard and darkness covered the breaches. Some hay-packs were thrown, some ladders placed, and the forlorn hopes and storming parties of the light division, five hundred in all, descended into the ditch without opposition; but then a bright flame shooting upwards, displayed all the terrors of the scene. The ramparts, crowded with dark figures and glistening arms, were on one side, on the other the red columns of the British, deep and broad, were coming on like streams of burning lava; it was the touch of the magician's wand, for a crash of thunder followed, and with incredible violence the storming parties were dashed to pieces by the explosion of hundreds of shells and powder barrels.

For an instant the light division stood on the brink of the ditch amazed at the terrible sight, but then with a shout that matched even the sound of the explosion the men threw down the ladders, or disdaining their aid leaped reckless of the depth into the gulf below; and at the same moment, amidst a blaze of musketry that dazzled the eyes, the 4th division came running in and descended with a like fury. There were only five ladders for the two columns which were close together, and a deep cut made in the bottom of the ditch was filled with water from the inundation; into that watery snare the head of the 4th division fell, and it is said above a hundred of the fusiliers, the men of Albuera, were there smothered. Those who followed checked not, but, as if such a disaster had been expected, turned to the left and thus came upon the face of the unfinished ravelin, which being rough and broken was mistaken for the breach and instantly covered with men; yet a wide and deep chasm was still between them and the ramparts, from whence came a deadly fire wasting their ranks. Thus baffled they also commenced a rapid discharge of musketry and disorder ensued. Now a multitude bounded up the great breach as if driven by a whirlwind, but across the top glittered a range of sword-blades, sharp-pointed, keen-edged on both sides, and firmly fixed in ponderous beams chained together and set deep in the ruins; and for ten feet in front the ascent was covered with loose planks studded with sharp iron points, on which feet being set the planks moved and the unhappy soldiers falling forward on the spikes rolled down upon the ranks behind. Then the Frenchmen, shouting at the success of their stratagem and leaping forward, plied their shot with terrible rapidity, for every man had several muskets, and each musket in addition to its ordinary charge contained a small cylinder of wood stuck full of wooden slugs, which scattered like hail when they were discharged. Once and again the assailants rushed up the breaches, but always the sword-blades, immovable and impassable, stopped their charge, and the hissing shells and thundering powder-barrels exploded unceasingly. Hundreds of men had fallen, hundreds more were dropping, still the heroic officers called aloud for new trials, and so furious were the men themselves that in one of these charges the rear sometimes followed by many, sometimes by a few, ascended the ruins; strove to push the foremost on to the sword-blades, willing even to make a bridge of their writhing bodies, but the others frustrated the attempt by dropping down; and men fell so far from the shot, it was hard to know

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who went down voluntarily, who were stricken ; and many stooped unhurt that never rose again. Vain also would it have been to break through the sword-blades, for the trench and parapet behind the breach were finished, and the assailants, crowded into even a narrower space than the ditch was, would still have been separated from their enemies and the slaughter would have continued.

Order was impossible ! Officers of all ranks, followed more or less numerously by the men, were seen to start out as if struck by sudden madness and rush into the breach. Colonel Macleod of the 43rd, a young man whose feeble body would have been quite unfit for war if it had not been sustained by an unconquerable spirit, when one behind him in falling plunged a bayonet into his back, complained not but continuing his course was shot dead within a yard of the sword-blades. Yet there was no want of gallant leaders or desperate followers, until two hours passed in these vain efforts had convinced the troops the breach of the Trinidad was impregnable. Gathering in dark groups and leaning on their muskets, they looked up with sullen desperation at the Trinidad ; while the enemy, stepping out on the ramparts and aiming their shots by the light of the fire-balls which they threw over, asked as their victims fell, "Why did they not come into Badajoz ?" In this dreadful situation, while the dead were lying in heaps and others continually falling, the wounded crawling about to get some shelter from the merciless shower above, and withal a sickening stench from the burned flesh of the slain, Captain Nicholas was observed making incredible efforts to force his way with a few men into the Santa Maria bastion ; but when they had gained two-thirds of the ascent a concentrated fire of musketry and grape dashed nearly the whole dead to the earth : Nicholas was mortally wounded and the intrepid Shaw stood alone. With inexpressible coolness he looked at his watch, and saying it was too late to carry the breaches rejoined the masses at the other attack. After this no further effort was made at any point, and the troops remained passive but unflinching beneath the enemy's shot which streamed without intermission.

About midnight, when two thousand brave men had fallen, Wellington, who was on a height close to the quarries, ordered the remainder to retire and re-form for a second assault ; he had heard the castle was taken, but, thinking the enemy would still resist in the town, was resolved to assail the breaches again. This retreat from the ditch was not effected without further carnage and confusion. All this time the town was girdled with fire. Walker's brigade, having passed on during the feint on the Pardaleras, was escalating the distant bastion of San Vincente. His troops had advanced along the banks of the river and reached the French guard-house at the barrier-gate undiscovered, the ripple of the waters smothering the sound of their footsteps ; but just then the explosion at the breaches took place, the moon shone out, the French sentinels discovering the columns fired, and the British soldiers springing forward under a sharp musketry began to hew down the wooden barrier at the covered way. The Portuguese, panic-stricken, threw down the scaling-ladders, the others snatched them up again and forcing the barrier jumped into the ditch ; but the guiding engineer officer was killed, there was a *cunette* which embarrassed the column, and the ladders proved too short, for the walls were generally above thirty feet high. The fire of the enemy was deadly, a small mine was sprung beneath the soldiers' feet, beams of wood and live shells were rolled over on their heads, showers of grape from the flank swept the ditch, and man after man dropped dead from the ladders.

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Fortunately some of the defenders had been called away to aid in recovering the castle, the ramparts were not entirely manned ; and the assailants, discovering a corner of the bastion where the scarp was only twenty feet high, placed three ladders there under an embrasure which had no gun and was only stopped with a gabion. Some men got up with difficulty, for the ladders were still too short, and the first man who gained the top was pushed up by his comrades and drew others after him until many had won the summit ; and though the French shot heavily against them from both flanks and from a house in front, their numbers augmented rapidly and half the 4th regiment entered the town itself to dislodge the French from the houses, while the others pushed along the rampart towards the breach and by dint of hard fighting successively won three bastions.

In the last of these combats Walker, leaping forward sword in hand at the moment when one of the enemy's cannoneers was discharging a gun, was covered with so many wounds it was wonderful that he could survive, and some of the soldiers immediately after, perceiving a lighted match on the ground, cried out : " A mine ! " At that word, such is the power of imagination, those troops who had not been stopped by the strong barrier, the deep ditch, the high walls and the deadly fire of the enemy, staggered back appalled by a chimera of their own raising ; and in this disorder a French reserve under General Veillande drove on them with a firm and rapid charge, pitching some men over the walls, killing others outright, and cleansing the ramparts even to the San Vincente. There however Leith had placed Colonel Nugent with a battalion of the 38th as a reserve, and when the French came up, shouting and slaying all before them, this battalion, two hundred strong, arose and with one close volley destroyed them ; then the panic ceased, the soldiers rallied, and in compact order once more charged along the walls towards the breaches ; but the French, although turned on both flanks and abandoned by fortune, did not yet yield.

Meanwhile the portion of the 4th regiment which had entered the town was strangely situated. For the streets were empty and brilliantly illuminated and no person was seen, yet a low buzz and whispers were heard around, lattices were now and then gently opened, and from time to time shots were fired from underneath the doors of the houses by the Spaniards, while the troops with bugles sounding advanced towards the great square of the town. In their progress they captured several mules going with ammunition to the breaches ; yet the square itself was as empty and silent as the streets, and the houses as bright with lamps : a terrible enchantment seemed to be in operation — they saw only an illumination and heard only low whispering around them, while the tumult at the breaches was like the crashing thunder. Plainly, however, the fight was there raging, and hence, quitting the square, they attempted to take the garrison in reverse by attacking the ramparts from the town side ; but they were received with a rolling musketry, driven back with loss, and resumed their movement through the streets. At last the breaches were abandoned by the French, other parties entered, desultory combats took place, Veillande, and Phillipon who was wounded, seeing all ruined, passed the bridge with a few hundred soldiers, and entered San Christoval.

Now commenced that wild and desperate wickedness which tarnished the lustre of the soldiers' heroism. All indeed were not alike, hundreds risked and many lost their lives in striving to stop the violence ; but madness generally prevailed, and as the worst men were leaders here, all the dreadful passions of human nature were displayed. Shameless rapacity, brutal intem-

perance, savage lust, cruelty and murder, of blows and pitiless lamentations, groans, shouts, imprecations, the howling of fire bursting from the houses, the crashing of doors and windows, and the reports of muskets, mixed in violence, resounded for two days and nights in the streets of Badajoz. On the third, when the city was sacked, when the soldiers were exhausted by their own excesses, the tumult rather subsided than was quelled: the wounded men were then looked to, the dead disposed of. Five thousand men and officers fell in this siege, and of these, including 700 Portuguese, 4,000 had been stricken in the assault, 60 officers and more than 700 more being slain on the spot. The five generals, Keight, Harvey, Rowan, Clibborn, and Paken were wounded, the first four severely; 400 men and officers fell in the escalade of San Vicente, as many at the castle, and more than 2,000 at the breaches, each division there being 1,200. And how deadly the work of battle may be gathered from this: the 1st and 2nd Portuguese of the light division lost more men than the seven regiments of the 3d division engaged at the same time.

Let it be considered that this fearful carnage took place in a space of less than a hundred yards square; that the slain died not all nobly, nor by one manner of death: that some perished by steel, some by shot, some by water, that some were crushed and trampled to death, some trampled upon, some dashed to atoms by the stones and shot of the enemy, this destruction was endured without shrinking, and the town was won at last. Let these things be considered, and let us not be deterred by the scars which bears with it an awful power. And false would it be to say the French were feeble men; the garrison stood and fought manfully and with discipline, behaving worthily: shame there was none on any side. Yet would I do justice to the bravery of the British soldiers: the noble conduct of the officers? Who shall measure out the glory of Ridge, of Maxwell, of Nicholas, of O'Hare of the 95th, who perished on the breach at the head of the stormers, and with him nearly all the volunteers for that desperate service? Who shall describe the springing valour of that Portuguese grenadier who was killed, the foremost man at the Santa Maria, on the martial day of that desperate rifleman, who, in his resolution to win, thrust himself beneath the chained sword-blades, and there suffered the enemy to dash his head to pieces with the ends of their muskets? Who can sufficiently honour the integrity of Walker, of Shaw, of Church, or the hardness of Ferguson of the 43d, who having in former assaults received two deep wounds was here, his former hurts still open, leading the stormers of his regiment the third time a volunteer, the third time wounded? Nor would I be understood to select these as pre-eminent; many and signal were the other examples of unbounded

[1 On this triumph the count de Ligne, a French observer, says the French acquired consummate courage and skill; the first was also displayed by the English in the assault. This was proved by their losses in the assault of the town, and by the manner in which they behaved on the escalade. This was usually the case with them in the besieging of towns. The English treated their foes well, but maltreated the inhabitants of Badajoz. The latter awaited them bravely with impatience, and prepared presents as a reflection to the victors, not to escape the fury as expected, but rather to welcome and gratify them. Most of the British soldiers, both sexes were killed by the English. The women of the town were spared the night of the 6th and the following day. The French made use of the breaches were not repulsed, and Lord Wellington himself was threatened by the entrance of the soldiers into the city. He sent troops purposely brought from without. Nevertheless the town was preserved. It was not the English general, not wishing that the excesses of the soldiers should be any pretext for the awards resulting from the reconquest of Badajoz. The regency conferred upon Wellington the grand cross of San Fernando."]

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devotion, some known, some that will never be known; for in such a tumult much passes unobserved, and often the observers fell themselves ere they could bear testimony to what they saw: but no age, no nation ever sent forth braver troops to battle than those who stormed Badajoz. When the extent of the night's havoc was made known to Lord Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers.<sup>b</sup>

## BRITISH PROGRESS

One result of this triumph was the immediate and final retreat of the French from Estremadura and Portugal. Marmont raised the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, and fell back to Salamanca.

In Spain, the native leaders meanwhile continued their desultory warfare; Lacy, Sarsfield, Rovira, Mina, and Porlier in the north, the Empecinado and Sanchez in the Castiles, and Ballasteros in the south, gained trifling advantages over the enemy in divers engagements; but for want of concert no material result was obtained from their successes, whilst Suchet made himself master of the whole kingdom of Valencia, with the single exception of Alicante. In Tarifa, a town defended only by an old wall, eighteen hundred English and Spanish troops, commanded by Colonel Skerrett, repulsed ten thousand French led by the duke of Belluno in person.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile General Hill had driven the French from Almaraz upon the Tagus, and thus obtained possession of the only place through which the enemy's armies of Portugal and of the south could conveniently keep up their communication across the river. The earl of Wellington then advanced towards Salamanca on the 13th of June, 1812. He there, despite the efforts of Marmont, reduced several very strong forts. Marmont retreated to the Douro. A series of masterly manœuvres ensued, in which, during six days, the contending generals displayed all the resources of their art. The advantage in this pure trial of skill remained with the Briton, who, on the 22nd of July, seizing upon a rash movement of Marmont's, instantly attacked him, and gained the splendid victory of Salamanca, in which the French lost seven thousand prisoners, at least as many killed and wounded, including three generals killed and four wounded, amongst whom was Marmont himself, eleven pieces of artillery, and two eagles. The loss of the allies amounted to fifty-two hundred killed and wounded, the former including one general, the latter five.

Clausel, who upon Marmont's being disabled, succeeded to the command, rallied the routed army, and retreated to Burgos. Wellington pursued him as far as Valladolid, and then turning southwards, marched upon Madrid. Joseph had not above twenty thousand men for the defence of his capital; he abandoned it at the approach of the allies; but weakened himself by leaving a garrison of two thousand men in a fortress adjoining the palace of Buen Retiro. They capitulated on the approach of the British. Lord Wellington entered Madrid on the 12th of August, and was received with every demonstration as the deliverer of Spain. The new constitution was proclaimed in the capital, and sworn to with eager zeal. And now the

[<sup>1</sup> Though Skerrett was covered with honours for this victory, Napier<sup>b</sup> shows that he was forced by certain officers to defend the place against his will, and that his mistakes even then were only overcome by Captains Smith and Mitchell. He sets the numbers of the garrison at twenty-five hundred; the number of French was variously rated between five and ten thousand.]

[1812 A.D.]

exploits and services of the British general had at length so far conquered Spanish jealousy that the cortes named the duke commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces.

Soult raised the blockade of Cadix on the 24th, and united with Suchet. He left, however, a garrison in Seville, which fell into the hands of the English and Spanish troops on the 11th. Joseph, on the advance of Hill, retreated in the same direction, and Andalusia was again freed from the presence of the invaders. But the position of Lord Wellington at Madrid, which had already produced most of the expected advantages, was becoming dangerous. He was disappointed of the diversions upon which he had relied. Maitland's army proved too weak, amounting only to six thousand men, to attempt a landing in Catalonia. It was therefore directed to Alicant, where the Anglo-Sicilian army necessarily remained long enough. Wellington quitted



Madrid, &amp;c.

Madrid on the 1st of September, to march against Burgos, leaving Lord Hill to observe Soult, and if possible defend Madrid. The English troops that had garrisoned Cadix now joined the army.

The French retreated as the allies advanced. On the 19th, Lord Wellington occupied Burgos, and laid siege to the castle. Here the deficiency of means proved more detrimental than ever, the want of ammunition to conquer the walled and strongly defended city, the delay to prevent the approach of Souham with all the disposable French force in the north of Spain. Lord Wellington, on the 21st of October, ordered the expedition to raise the siege, and take up his winter quarters on the Portuguese frontier. About the same time, Joseph and Soult, who were near Madrid, Hill in obedience to his instructions, retreated to Salamanca, where, on the 3rd of November, he joined Lord Wellington. On the 24th, the troops went into cantonments along the frontier, the French army being fixed at Escobedo. It is mortifying to be compelled to add that Joseph's army had retreated, and untroubled by night saps, severe weather, the train, crippled by their failure before Burgos, disappeared much of the treasure and insubordination that had marked Sir John Moore's retreat to Corunna.



[1812 AD.]

## NAPIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE RETREAT

Drunkenness and insubordination were exhibited at Torquemada, where the great wine vaults were invaded, and twelve thousand men were at one time in a state of helpless inebriety. The negligence of many medical and escorting officers conducting the convoys of the sick, and the consequent bad conduct of the soldiers (for where the officers are careless the soldiers will be licentious) produced the worst effects. Outrages were perpetrated on the inhabitants along the whole line of march, terror was everywhere predominant, the ill-used drivers and muleteers deserted, some with, some without their cattle. The commissariat lost nearly all the animals and carriages employed, the villages were abandoned, and the under-commissaries were bewildered or paralysed by the terrible disorder thus spread along the line.

The rest of the retreat being unmolested was made with more regularity, but the excesses still committed furnished glaring evidence that the moral conduct of a general cannot be fairly judged by following in the wake of a retreating army. There was no want of provisions, no hardships to exasperate the men, and yet the author of this history counted on the first day's march from Madrid seventeen bodies of murdered peasants; by whom killed, or for what, whether by English or Germans, by Spaniards, or Portuguese, in dispute, in robbery, or in wanton villany was unknown; but their bodies were in the ditches, and a shallow observer might thence have drawn foul and false conclusions against the English general and nation. The Spaniards, civil and military, evinced hatred of the British. Daily did they attempt or perpetrate murder. The civil authorities, not less savage, were more insolent than the military, treating every British person with an intolerable arrogance. The whole loss of the double retreat cannot be set down at less than nine thousand, including the loss in the siege.

When the campaign terminated, Wellington, exasperated by the conduct of the army and the many crossings he had experienced during the campaign, gave vent to his indignation in a circular letter addressed to the superior officers. In substance it declared that discipline had deteriorated during the campaign in a greater degree than he had ever witnessed or ever read of in any army, and this without any disaster, any unusual privation or hardship save that of inclement weather; that the officers had lost all command over their men, and excesses, outrages of all kinds and inexcusable losses had occurred; that no army had ever made shorter marches in retreat or had longer rests—no army had ever been so little pressed by a pursuing enemy; and this unhappy state of affairs was to be traced to the habitual neglect of duty by the regimental officers.<sup>2</sup>

## AFFAIRS OF 1812-1813

The year 1812 saw everywhere the beginning of the reverses which overthrew the colossal empire of Bonaparte. There was nothing to counterbalance the exultation excited in Spain by these frightful reverses of her unrelenting foe, except the continuance of the dissensions with the colonies. The prince of Brazil, who had previously created Lord Wellington count of Vinheiro and marquis of Torres Vedras, now conferred upon him the title of duke of Victoria, in commemoration of his many victories; and it might also have seemed in anticipation of the most decisive of his peninsular battles. The allied armies were now, for the first time, about to take the

field under favourable circumstances; and he, whose genius had hitherto been severely tried in contending with and surmounting every species of obstacle, might hope to pursue that more dazzling career of glory which silences the cavils of envy and of ignorance. The resources of the peninsula, such as they were, were placed at his disposal. What was of more consequence, the French emperor, instead of constantly pouring reinforcements into Spain in numbers that almost seemed to render Lord Wellington's victories barren triumphs, was compelled to withdraw thence many troops. Soult, with thirty thousand veterans, was recalled from Spain.

The complicated arrangements requisite to bring so variously composed an army into activity, delayed Lord Wellington's opening the campaign until the middle of May; when he took the field at the head of nearly seventy thousand men, English and Portuguese, independently of the Spanish army of Galicia under Castaños on his left, and another on his right under Don Carlos de España. The French had still 160,000 men in Spain; and as many of these as were not engaged in the eastern provinces under Suchet, or employed in garrison duty, were stationed around Madrid and between the capital and the Douro.

Lord Wellington ordered General Murray to remove his troops by sea to Catalonia, in order both to relieve Valencia by drawing Suchet northwards, and to be nearer the scene of the principal operations, and sent Sir Thomas Graham, with the left wing of the army, to cross the Douro within the limits of Portugal, and thus turn a perhaps impregnable position, whilst he himself with the centre, and Sir Rowland Hill with the right, advanced towards it in front, driving before them all detachments from the army of Portugal, as it was still termed, that were stationed south of the Douro. The manœuvre seems to have confounded the enemy. The army of Portugal retreated. Joseph and Jourdan collected the army of the centre, and evacuating Madrid, hastened to join the army of Portugal near Burgos. Joseph fell back to Vitoria, the principal depot of the French in the northern provinces; there he halted, drew up his army in battle array, and prepared to make a last struggle for his crown. It is said that the French occupied the very ground on which, in the fourteenth century, the Black Prince had defeated Du Guesclin and recovered the Castilian crown for Don Pedro.

Lord Wellington on the 21st of June, 1813, attacked. The Spaniards fought with a courage that proved their former panics and failures to have been mainly attributable to want of confidence in their commanders and their comrades. The French wings were first assailed and driven back. Then, when their formidably posted centre had been weakened to support the wings, and was, besides, threatened on the flanks, that too was assailed and carried. The French had never before been so utterly routed. The whole army dispersed and fled; Joseph narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; artillery, baggage, everything upon which the existence of an army depends fell into the hands of the victors, as well as the wives of many of the French superior officers, and the marshal's staff of Jourdan. The victory was actively followed up; most of the French garrisons were taken, or surrendered upon being summoned; the remaining French detachments, by a series of nearly bloodless manœuvres, were driven across the Pyrenees; and by the 7th of July no part of Joseph's army remained in Spain except the garrisons of Pamplona and San Sebastian.

Suchet's was now the only French army in Spain, and his force remained unbroken in the eastern provinces, opposed to Sir John Murray. That general was conveyed with his troops by a British fleet from Alicante to the

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Catalan coast, and landing, on the 3rd of June, near Tarragona, immediately invested that town. He had made little progress with the siege when Suchet's advance from Valencia was announced. Murray re-embarked his troops with such precipitation, although Suchet was some marches distant, that he left his artillery and stores behind. But the news of the battle of Vitoria and its consequences determined Suchet to abandon that province and concentrate his troops in Catalonia. Aragon was freed, and Mina had the gratification of recovering the heroic Saragossa from her conquerors.

When Napoleon received the tidings of the battle of Vitoria and its disastrous results to his brother's hopes, he sent back Soult to resume the command from which he had taken him; to collect reinforcements, re-organise the fugitive army, raise the sieges of Pamplona and San Sebastian, and, in conjunction with Suchet, drive the British out of Spain. To enable him to effect these objects, he named him imperial lieutenant in Spain, giving him authority far beyond what had ever before been intrusted to any marshal. Soult took the field at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men, endeavouring to break through the extremity of the British line, in order to relieve Pamplona. The French marshal's first measures seemed to promise him success. On the 25th of July, 1813, with about fifty thousand men, he attacked two separate posts held by divisions of the right wing under Sir Rowland Hill. The allies fought obstinately, but were obliged to give way. On the 26th Lord Wellington arrived on the scene of action, immediately resolving to give battle for the protection of the blockade of Pamplona. The French were defeated in two successive engagements on the 30th and 31st, after which Soult retreated into France. On the 1st of August the allied troops resumed their former positions amidst the Pyrenees.

The two sieges proceeded; but the provisions in Pamplona still held out: the fortifications of San Sebastian were admirable, the approaches difficult, and the garrison defended itself pertinaciously. When the town was taken (August 31), the siege, and especially the assault, had cost great numbers of lives—nearly four thousand; and the troops, infuriated by the loss of their comrades and their own danger, could not be restrained by the few surviving officers of the storming party, or even taught to discriminate between friends and foes, Spaniards and French. Greater outrages are said to have been committed upon the inhabitants of San Sebastian than in any other town taken by the allies; and it was longer ere the generals could restore order.<sup>1</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> Napier's *campaigns*: "San Sebastian, a third-rate fortress and in bad condition when invested, resisted a besieging army possessing an enormous battering train, for sixty-three days. The place was, in fact, won by accident—the ignition of the French powder-barrels and shells, which alone opened the way into the town." Of the sad atrocities committed by the British troops, Napier goes on to say:

"A thunderstorm, coming down from the mountains with unbounded fury immediately after the place was carried, added to the confusion of the fight. This storm seemed to be a signal from hell for the perpetration of villany which would have shamed the most ferocious barbarians of antiquity. At Rodrigo intoxication and plunder had been the principal object; at Badajoz lust and murder were joined to rapine and drunkenness; but at San Sebastian, the direct, the most revolting cruelty was added to the catalogue of crimes. One atrocity of which a girl of seventeen was the victim staggers the mind by its enormous, incredible, indescribable barbarity. The resolution of the troops to throw off discipline was quickly made manifest. A British staff officer was pelted with a volley of small arms and escaped with difficulty from men who mistook him for the provost marshal of the 5th division; a Portuguese adjutant who endeavoured to prevent some wickedness was put to death in the market-place, not with sudden violence from a single ruffian, but deliberately by a number of English soldiers; and though many officers exerted themselves to preserve order and many men were well conducted, the rapine and violence commenced by villainsspread; the camp-follower soon crowded into the place, and the disorder continued until the flames, following the steps of the plunderer, put an end to his ferocity by destroying the whole town."]

—Napier's *campaigns*, vol. II.

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The surrender of Pamplona set the allied forces at liberty, and Lord Wellington immediately determined to advance into France, leaving Suchet and his corps to the care of the Catalans, assisted by the Anglo-Sicilian army. In beginning his operations upon the enemy's territory, one of the first cares of the British commander was to repress the ferociously vindictive temper of his Spanish and Portuguese troops, who longed to retaliate upon the French nation the injuries and outrages they had suffered from the French soldiery. At first it was found impossible altogether to control this disposition, in which the native officers but too much sympathised with their men. But the firmness and severity with which such offences were punished soon introduced a better temper.

On the 10th of November, 1813, Soult's line of defence was attacked, and notwithstanding the great pains bestowed upon strengthening it, was forced; fifteen hundred prisoners and fifty guns fell into the victor's hands, besides quantities of stores. On the 9th of December hostilities were renewed. The allied armies drove the French back into the intrenched camp they had prepared close to Bayonne, and Soult, by attacking, after five days of almost incessant fighting, in which the loss was necessarily great (five thousand of the allies, and far more of the French were killed or wounded), retreated into his intrenched camp. The weather was still very severe, and Lord Wellington therefore again cantoned his troops, but upon a more advanced line, and both armies passed the remainder of the month in repose.

Whilst Lord Wellington, with those forces, for whom, as for their leader, Napoleon had professed such superlative disdain, was thus penetrating into France, the situation of the French emperor had undergone many changes. It was at Leipsic, October 16th, 1813, that the battle, fatal to his hopes of maintaining his sovereignty over Germany, was fought. Every German state, including the whole Confederation of the Rhine, had now thrown off allegiance to Napoleon. The allied sovereigns advanced to the banks of the Rhine. There they halted for the remainder of the year, satisfied with their achievements, and willing to give Napoleon, whom they still feared, an opportunity for negotiation. Wellington and his army alone, of the hostile forces, wintered in France.

#### RETURN OF THE BOURBONS

Napoleon saw that to recover all he had lost, or even to keep all he yet retained, was, for the moment at least, impossible; and he resolved to relax his grasp in that quarter, where renunciation of his now vain pretensions need not induce the abandonment of real power. He opened a negotiation with the prince to whom, as he believed, he could still dictate the terms of the treaty to be concluded — namely, the captive of Valençay, Ferdinand VII.

Since the seizure of the Spanish royal family at Bayonne, they had pretty much vanished from public view. The old king and queen, with their favourite, Godoy, had been transferred to Rome, where they vegetated contentedly upon the ample pension assigned them. The queen of Etruria, whose feelings appear to have been somewhat livelier than those of her kindred, had incurred Napoleon's anger by an abortive attempt at escaping to England, and was strictly immured in a convent at Rome, with her daughter; her son, the dethroned king, being taken from her, and committed to the care of her parents. Ferdinand remained at Valençay. He had written

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a letter of congratulation to Joseph Bonaparte upon his accession to the Spanish throne. He repeatedly addressed to Napoleon congratulations on his victories. When a scheme for his liberation was devised by the British cabinet—partly through compassion but chiefly under an idea that the presence of an acknowledged king would put an end to the factions and jealousies that distracted the Spanish councils, thwarted Lord Wellington's designs, and impeded his progress—Ferdinand not only refused to escape, but denounced the attempt to Napoleon, and took the opportunity to renew his often rejected request that he might be adopted into the imperial family, by receiving the hand of a Bonaparte princess. He was further said to employ his time in embroidering a robe for some image of the Virgin. But the stories were regarded as calumnious inventions, propagated for the purpose of lowering Ferdinand's character in general estimation; and the imprisoned king remained as before an object of loyal veneration, of esteem, and pity.

Immediately on reaching Paris, after his calamitous retreat from Leipsic, Napoleon addressed a letter to Ferdinand, telling him that England was endeavouring to overthrow the monarchy and nobility of Spain, in order to establish a republic in that country, and offering him his liberty, together with the alliance of France, that he might return to Spain, and put an end to the disorders now convulsing the kingdom and further menacing it. After a little delay and negotiation Ferdinand yielded. On the 11th of December, 1813, a treaty was signed at Valençay, by which he was recognised as king of Spain and the Indies, all old treaties and alliances between France and Spain were revived and confirmed, and Ferdinand undertook for the immediate evacuation of Spain and her dependencies by the English. Even this treaty, however, Ferdinand referred to the approbation and sanction of the regency and the cortes; and San Carlos was despatched with a copy of it to Madrid, whither the seat of government was now transferred from Cadiz.

On the 8th of January, 1814, the regency through its president, the cardinal de Bourbon, addressed a respectful answer to the king, in which they assured him of their joy at the prospect of his majesty's approaching liberation, but returned the treaty unratified, and transmitted copies of the law, and of the treaty with England, which prevented its ratification.

Towards the middle of February, 1814, the weather improved, and Lord Wellington drew his troops from their cantonments. By a series of able manœuvres, and of engagements ending with the well-contested and brilliant victory of Orthez, gained on the 27th of February, he drove Soult successively from post to post, through a country of peculiar difficulty, and abounding in strong defensive positions, of which the French marshal skillfully endeavoured to avail himself, but was uniformly foiled by the superior skill of his British competitor. Sir John Hope lay before Bayonne with the left wing. By the help of an English squadron, under Admiral Penrose, the close investment of Bayonne laid open the direct road to Bordeaux, and on the 8th of March Wellington sent Beresford with fifteen thousand men to make himself master of that town. Beresford was accompanied by the duke of Angoulême, as a royalist party with the mayor at their head were well known to be anxiously expecting the prince. The French garrison evacuated the town as the allied troops approached, and the inhabitants, assuming the white cockade, and receiving the prince with enthusiastic loyalty, proclaimed Louis XVIII. Lord Wellington, recalling Beresford, recommenced his operations against Soult. On the 18th they began their movement up the Adour, the French retiring before them. On the 19th,

Soult was driven from Vitoria-Riparte, and on the 20th from Estoril, till he retreated upon Lisbon.

Whilst Ferdinand's allies and subjects were thus progressing triumphantly over his oppressor, the captive people had resumed liberty. Napoleon, finding that no treaty concluded with the king of Spain, which his presence would be acknowledged by the nation, would on the 14th of March release him unconditionally, as the only remaining chance of detaching Spain from England, and recovering his former influence over that country. Ferdinand was conducted to Perpignan, and there, on the 19th of March, delivered over to the care of Suchet, who was to make arrangements, under the royal guarantee, for the safe return of the different French garrisons, spread over the eastern coast of Spain, to his army, upon their surrendering to the king the fortresses they still held. Ferdinand, on the 21st, was received by Capota and thousands of his native subjects, who had fled from every place within reach, to greet the return of their beloved sovereign. Ferdinand's signature having, however, by the time he left the land, no will, and he should have taken the oath prescribed by the constitution, Soult's object was frustrated. The surrender of the fortresses, and the safe passage of the garrisons still remained to be negotiated between him and Capota, and before they had brought it to a conclusion, the progress of events in France rendered all arrangements of the kind unnecessary.

Lord Wellington had not allowed Soult time to reserve the accumulation of strength he expected from the result of Suchet's negotiations. He followed him to Porto, forced the passage of the Guadiana, and on the 10th of April, 1811, under the walls of the city, gave the last victory of this war, in the battle of Lisbon. Soult retired into the town, whilst, upon Wellington's preparing to invest it, he evacuated on the night of the 11th, the allied army, permitting him to withdraw un molested. The next day they took possession of the city, where they were received with every demonstration of joy, and the inhabitants proclaimed Isid. XVIII. It was the last occasion upon which the act could have the grace of a spontaneous impulse of the people.

The allied armies appeared before the French capital. Maria Louisa, with her son, and the ministers, had fled to Bragança. Joseph I. saved the empire, and Paris capitulated. On the 31st of May, Alexander and Frederick William had entered the city at the head of their troops. Napoleon gave way; and abdicated unconditionally. The time and rank of emperor were, in return, confirmed to him, although his empire was limited to the tiny island of Elba. The Bourbons were now restored to their long lost throne; and peace was reestablished throughout Europe. Lord Wellington, like the rest of the allies, now of course evacuated the French territory, and dissolved his mixed army, the British, Spanish, and Portuguese.

#### ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE WAR

Napoleon's enormous armies had been so wonderfully organised that they existed and fought in Spain for six years, and without cessation; for to them winters and summers were alike; they endured incredible cold and privations, yet were not starved out, nor were their small armies beaten by the Spaniards. And for their daring and resource a single fact recorded by Wellington will suffice. They captured more than one strong place in Spain without any provision of bullets save those fired at them by their



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enemies, having trusted to that chance when they formed the siege! Before the British troops they fell; but how horrible was the struggle, how many defeats they recovered from, how many brave men they slew; what changes and interpositions of fortune occurred before they could be rolled back upon their own frontiers! And this is the glory of England, that her soldiers and hers only were capable of overthrowing them in equal battle. What battle except Baylen did the peninsulars win? What fortress did they take by siege? What place defend? Sir Arthur Wellesley twice delivered Portugal. Sir John Moore's march to Sahagun saved Andalusia and Lisbon from invasion at a critical moment. Sir Arthur's march to Talavera delivered Galicia. Graham saved Cadiz. Smith saved Tarifa. Wellington recaptured Ciudad and Badajoz, rescued Andalusia from Soult and Valencia from Suchet; the Anglo-Sicilian army preserved Alicante, and finally recovered Tarragona and Barcelona under the influence of the northern operations, which at the same time reduced Pamplona and San Sebastian. England indeed could not alone have triumphed in the struggle, but for her share let this brief summary speak:

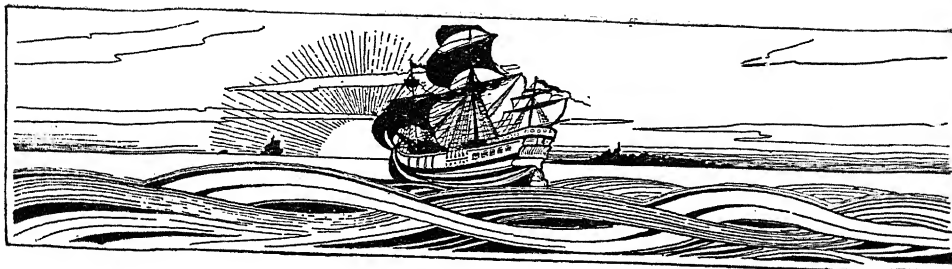
She spent a sum of more than £100,000,000 sterling on her own operations, she subsidised both Spain and Portugal, and with her supplies of clothing, arms, and ammunition maintained the armies of each, even to the guerillas. From thirty up to seventy thousand British troops were employed by her; and while her naval squadrons harassed the French with descents upon the coasts, and supplied the Spaniards with arms and stores and money after every defeat, her land-forces fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats, made or sustained ten sieges, took four great fortresses, twice expelled the French from Portugal, preserved Alicante, Cartagena, Tarifa, Cadiz, Lisbon; they killed, wounded, and took two hundred thousand enemies. And the bones of forty thousand British soldiers lie scattered on the plains and mountains of the peninsula. For Portugal she re-organised a native army and supplied officers who led it to victory; and to the whole peninsula she gave a general whose like has seldom gone forth to conquer. And all this and more was necessary to redeem that land from France!

## NAPIER'S ESTIMATE OF WELLINGTON

Wellington met the peculiar difficulties which attend generals controlled by politicians. An English commander dare not risk much, when one disaster will be his ruin at home; his measures must be subordinate to his primary consideration. Wellington's caution, springing from that source, had led friends and foes alike into wrong conclusions as to his system of war: the French call it want of enterprise, timidity; the English have denominated it the Fabian system. These are mere phrases. His system was the same as that of all great generals. He held his army in hand, keeping it with unmitigated labour always in a fit state to march or to fight, and acted indifferently as occasion offered on the offensive or defensive, displaying in both a complete mastery of his art. That he was less vast in his designs, less daring in execution, neither so rapid nor so original a commander as Napoleon, must be admitted; and being later in the field of glory it is presumed he learned something of the art from the greatest of all masters. Yet something besides the difference of genius must be allowed for the difference of situation; Napoleon was never, even in his first campaign of Italy, so harassed by the French as Wellington was by the English, Spanish,

and Portuguese governments ; their systems of war were however alike in principle, their operations being only modified by their different political positions. Great bodily exertion, unceasing watchfulness, exact combinations to protect their flanks and communications without scattering their forces — these were common to both ; in defence firm, cool, enduring, in attack fierce and obstinate ; daring when daring was politic, yet always operating by the flanks in preference to the front ; in these things they were alike : in following up a victory the English general fell short of the French emperor. The battle of Wellington was the stroke of a battering-ram — down went the wall in ruins ; the battle of Napoleon was the swell and dash of a mighty wave before which the barrier yielded and the roaring flood poured onwards covering all.

But there was nothing of timidity or natural want of enterprise to be discerned in the English general's campaigns. Neither was he of the Fabian school. He recommended that commander's system to the Spaniards, he did not follow it himself ; his military policy more resembled that of Scipio Africanus. Wellington was never loath to fight when there was any equality of numbers. Slight therefore is the resemblance to the Fabian warfare. And for the Englishman's hardiness and enterprise, bear witness the passage of the Douro at Oporto, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the storming of Badajoz, the surprise of the forts at Mirabete, the march to Vitoria, the passage of the Bidassoa, the victory of the Nivelle, the passage of the Adour below Bayonne, the fight of Orthez, the crowning battle of Toulouse ! To say that he committed faults is only to say that he made war ; to deny him the qualities of a great commander is to rail against the clear midday sun for want of light. Iron hardihood of body, a quick and sure vision, a grasping mind, untiring power of thought, and the habit of laborious minute investigation and arrangement — all these qualities he possessed, and with them that most rare faculty of coming to prompt and sure conclusions on sudden emergencies. This is the certain mark of a master-spirit in war.<sup>b</sup>



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

[1814-1902 A.D.]

ON the 7th of March, 1814, Ferdinand VII definitely received his passports from the French. Master of himself once more, he began to think of means of returning to the capital and recovering his former power. But, at the same time, he resolved to avoid doing anything that would seem to sanction modifications accomplished by the cortes, regarding such as an attack on his sovereign power. To enter Spain without making any promise at all was the essential point. The king's counsellors proposed he should send a king's messenger to Madrid bearing a letter carefully flattering the hopes of the Liberal party without undertaking to fulfil the slightest engagement with regard to it. Ferdinand acted on this advice, and charged General Zayas to bear to Madrid the news of his immediate return, and to give the regency a letter wherein were these ambiguous words:

"As to the re-establishment of the cortes and all they have been able to do of use for the kingdom during my absence, my approbation will be given in so far as it all conforms to my royal intentions."

The general set out for Madrid with this letter and hastened to arrive thither, where his coming produced the liveliest enthusiasm. The cortes affected to see in the message a pledge for the political future of their sovereign, and abstained thenceforth from those energetic measures alone able to save them. While they thus lulled themselves in fancied security, Ferdinand had hastened to gain the Spanish frontier by Toulouse and Perpignan. On the 24th of March he crossed the Fluvia, limit chosen by Marshal Suchet as the theatre which was to see the solemn restoration of the royal captive to the Spanish troops. The ceremony was carried out amid general enthusiasm, and all the people eagerly ran to assist at such a novel spectacle.

From this moment, Ferdinand, reinstated in his kingly prerogatives, found himself under a double influence, one drawing him to the representative system, the other towards that absolute monarchy which best suited his desires and tastes. In all the towns he went through, and particularly in Gerona where he had stayed some days, a people mad with joy, drunk with enthusiasm,

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had cast themselves at his feet, had dragged his carriage, and given most striking testimony of obedience and submission.<sup>1</sup>

Sure now of the destiny awaiting him, he decided to abandon the route fixed by the decree of the 2nd of February.

During this triumphal journey (24th of March to the 6th of April), the gravest events had taken place in France, and one may conceive that Ferdinand, before attempting his *coup d'état*, did not want to get too far away from the frontier, at any rate while the issues were doubtful. Certain events were very favourable: the entry of the allies into Paris; the creation of a provisional government; Napoleon's abdication, and departure for Elba; and lastly the proclamation of Louis XVIII, which should lead to the suppression of hostilities and the end of the war.

The Aragonese were just as unbridled as the Catalans in expressing monarchical fanaticism. So while the authorities remained faithful to the regency, the people showed such enthusiasm for the king that he could no longer doubt for an instant that he could now venture all. Old courtiers, interested in seeing the ancient court restored, constantly urged him to retake absolute authority.

Yet, while the storm was slowly gathering that would sweep them away, the cortes, always dominated by a perfectly unjustified feeling of confidence, never ceased publishing decrees which served to feed the general enthusiasm in the king's favour. The weak royalist minority which still existed in their midst had ceased to make common cause with them. Its leader, Mozo de Rosales, had gone to Valencia carrying a representation in which the events of the past six years were considered as a passing saturnalia, similar to those which the Persians used to celebrate during an interregnum, and which put forth that order would only reign in Spain from that day when kingly authority should be reinstated in its integrity. Whilst the cortes waited with lively impatience to know their fate, they celebrated the fête of the 2nd of May with great pomp; ascribed several civic rewards to soldiers who had bravely fought in the war of Independence; transferred the seat of their meetings from the theatre of Los Canos del Peral to the convent of Doña Maria of Aragon; and decreed a death sentence against anyone demanding constitutional reform before eight years. Such were the acts of the cortes. The cardinal De Bourbon, president of the regency council, accompanied by the minister of state, Don José Luyando, was to present himself before the monarch, and a commission, presided over by the Bishop of Urgel, was to go on in front of him as far as La Mancha plains.

Ferdinand arrived the 16th of April on the borders of Turia. There he found everything had been prepared by the care of his uncle Don Antonio, De Macanaz, and Escoiquiz, to whom were united Villamil and Lardizabal, whose reverses at Cadiz had filled them with bitterness and spite against the representative system. The highest aristocrats came to Ferdinand offering him riches enough to enable him to act without the concurrence of the cortes. General Elio, betraying his first duty and oblivious of obedience owing to

[<sup>1</sup> Hume vividly describes this royal progress: "Through the stark and ruined country he went; the emaciated and famished inhabitants, hardly one of whom but had some dear one killed in the war, filled to overflowing with love and hope of better times under the sway of their new king. They had suffered so much for him; he was young and had suffered too, they said, in his exile: surely he would be good to them, make bread cheap, and heal their bleeding wounds. Most of the towns on the way had changed the name of their great square from Plaza Mayor to 'Plaza de la Constitucion'; and the marble slabs bearing the latter inscription were now torn down and splintered, and the thoughtless mob, little knowing or caring what it all meant, shouted themselves hoarse with cries of 'Death to liberty and the Constitution!' and 'Long live Ferdinand!'" The amazing cry of "Hurrah for chains!" was also heard.]

[1814-16]

the regency, promised the strongest assistance from all his army corps. A special paper, entitled *Lucinda*, boldly advocated a return to the old régime. The time had come to act in a decisive manner. Ferdinand applied himself to the work. In receiving the cardinal De Bourbon he affected to give him his hand to make him kiss it in sign of homage, as if to show that the regency was nothing but an emanation from his own authority. In the same fashion he received the commander's bâton which the latter presented before the troops, as if by this to teach the soldiers that obedience was due to himself alone. He received representatives from the Persians with cordiality.<sup>1</sup> He made a cavalry corps precede him commanded by Don Santiago Wittingham, to Madrid, and then received a solemn oath from all the officers to "support him in all his rights."

Such symptoms were decisive, and, once made public, he had only to exercise the direct absolute authority which he had just seized. This is exactly what happened. The king signed on the 4th of May at Valencia the famous manifesto now so mournfully celebrated. In this he stated that not only did he refuse to swear to the constitution or to recognise any decree extraordinary or ordinary, but he declared that constitution annulled, of no value either to-day or forever, as its acts had never been nor could be effaced by time. Then, without making known his absolutist programme, he marched straight on Madrid with General Elio, having given orders to the cardinal De Bourbon and Luyando to retire, the one on Toledo, the other on Cartagena.

It seemed impossible that the arrival of General Wittingham almost under the walls of Madrid should not open the deputies' eyes as to Ferdinand's intentions; nevertheless, they took no measures for their personal security. The execution of the Valencia decree had been confided to General Eguia, nominated captain in general of New Castile, and known under the name of Codelilla because of his attachment to old costumes and his habit of wearing his hair in a plait at the back of his head as in Charles III's time. Eguia, who was commander-in-chief of Elio's first division of troops, and who only preceded the king by some days, was supported by Wittingham's cavalry and the underhand movements of the count of Montijo, who had raised the shins of Madrid against those favourable to the representative system. Under these circumstances he had not any difficulty in executing the *coup d'état* with which he had been intrusted. Thus, while Ferdinand pursued



FERDINAND VII

<sup>1</sup> The name *Persiana* was given to the *servile* depiction who had signed the memorial in which the period from 1608 to 1814 was compared to the old Persian saturnalia of crime which accompanied a change of rulers.

his triumphal march from Valencia to Madrid in the midst of a joy and enthusiasm officially worked up, midst subversive cries around him for the suppression of the constitution and re-establishment of absolutism, while he refused to see the cortes' deputation who came before him at La Mancha, all vestiges of the preceding system were being carefully destroyed in the city. A terrible persecution fell on all the men who had helped in establishing the constitutional system.

In the one night of the 10th of May, 1814, — a day so celebrated in the annals of the Spanish liberals, — Eguia took from their houses and imprisoned all regency members, all state councillors, all deputies who were known as partisans to the constitution whether in the actual cortes or the preceding one. Of this number were the two regents Don Pedro Agar and Don Gabriel Ciscar, the ministers Don Juan Alvarez Guerra and Don Manuel Garcia Herreros, the constituents Muñoz Torrero, Arguelles, Oliveros, Villanueva, the deputies Martinez de la Rosa, Canga-Arguelles, and Cepero. Some had the good luck to escape, among these Toreño and Isturiz. As to the others, they were surprised in their homes. So unexpected was such a ruse in the then circumstances of the country, that no one had dreamed of taking the slightest precautions. The day after their arrestation they were constantly exposed to the insults of the multitude who reproduced in Spain all the excesses of that blind reaction in the south of France. The Madrid populace, after having torn away the corner-stone of the constitution, went in tumultuous procession to the quiet street where the prisoners were shut up, and there shouting "Death to the liberals!" they begged with frightful cries permission to drag the corpses in the mud as they had dragged the stone of the constitution.

This tumult was the work of the count of Montijo and several monks who, seeing the star of their ascendancy reappear in the horizon — an ascendancy lost for six years — had, at the same time as the Valencia decree was proclaimed in all the squares, circulated a scandalous leaflet having for the object an organised proscription and the raising of the masses against all partisans of the liberal system. Thus the 13th of May, 1814, saw Ferdinand's triumphal entry into his capital. He had already given his reign the distinctive character that marks it out in history: an obstinate return to old ideas; a cruel proscription against all the men devoted to culture and intelligence and gifted with liberal aspiration; a stirring up of the masses by a recrudescence of religious fanaticism; an exaltation of monarchical principle pushed as far as absolutism, and a near re-establishing of the Inquisition, convents, favouritism, and all their fatal consequences.<sup>b</sup>

The great mass of the people, who were not enlightened enough to feel the want, or appreciate the blessings, of political liberty, had not sufficient experience of the benefits which the new institutions were calculated to confer to have conceived any value for them; and the troops, who, from their intercourse with the English army, might have learned some respect for liberty and equal laws, were hostile to the cortes on account of the neglect and injustice with which they had frequently been treated.

Ferdinand proceeded to acts for which no palliation can be found, namely, inflicting punishments upon those who had defended his cause when he himself had abandoned it, but had, in his opinion, forfeited all claim to his gratitude, by seeking to limit the power they preserved for him. Fortunately, however, Sir Henry Wellesley extorted from the king a solemn promise that no blood should be shed for political opinions. No lives therefore were taken. But the cardinal De Bourbon was banished to Rome. The



[1814-1815]

only symptom of gratitude shown by Ferdinand to those who had so zealously served him, was his confirming to Lord Wellington the honours and rewards conferred upon him by the cortes.

In America the long-pending dispute with the United States respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida was finally settled by the sale of both the Floridas to that power. The war with the colonies continued, but altered in character. Ferdinand there took part with the cortes he had condemned, pertinaciously refused to acknowledge the equality, the sort of federal connection with the mother-country that the colonies claimed, and wasted the resources of Spain by sending his best troops across the Atlantic to assert the old Spanish monopoly. The colonies, exasperated by this return for their loyalty, now disowned the authority of Ferdinand, and proclaimed their entire and absolute independence. Ferdinand resisted these pretensions yet more vehemently than the former, but it was evident from the beginning that Spain had finally lost her transatlantic empire. Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were her only remaining colonies.

As the short convulsion, which followed Napoleon's return from Elba in the following spring and was terminated by the dreadful and glorious battle of Waterloo as finally sealing Bonaparte's fall, produced no other effect in the peninsula than an order to arm, a detail of these affairs would be out of place here.

#### THE REIGN OF TERROR

A famous society, that of the Exterminating Angel, had extended its roots over the whole country under the direction of a former regent, the bishop of Oama, and was moving all the apostolics of the peninsula as by a single mind. It had relations with the principal bishops to whom several owed their offices; its ramifications crept into all the monasteries, and much more violent than its French chapter it preached the extermination of all the liberals.

The military commissions set to work with a new activity aided by a mass of regulations whose laconism and hypocrisy were only equalled by their vigour and violence. They had the power of condemning to death all who were guilty of *lèse-majesté*, that is to say all who declared themselves opposed to the rights of the king or in favour of the constitution. With the help of this ambiguous phrase, any writer who put into print any words in which the rights of Ferdinand were doubted, anyone who in any manner whatever had co-operated in the revolution of 1820-1823; anyone who kept in his house a copy of the constitution, a portrait of Riego, any souvenir whatsoever of the illustrious exiles living in a foreign country, anyone who by a shout or word, spoken even in drunkenness, showed hatred of tyranny—any of these could be found guilty of *lèse-majesté*. A decree bearing the date of October 9th, 1824, which through some expiring sentiment of modesty was not inserted in the official gazette, but nevertheless was applied with care, suppressed all of the laws and delivered the lives of all citizens over to these tribunals. A premium was put upon information and a secret police penetrated into every household in order to divine the secret of consciences and to purge Spain of all the liberal element. Not age, sex, virtue, or poverty were protection against these terrible commissions; wealth alone sometimes saved from death. He who had some fortune bought his life with the greatest part of his property.

The commission of Madrid, presided over by a fierce brute named Chaperon, who acquired the melancholy honour of giving his name to the

whole epoch, surpassed all its rivals in the number of condemnations and severity of sentences. It sent to the scaffold all those in whose homes portraits of Riego were discovered, and to the galleys the women and children who committed the crime of not denouncing their husbands or fathers. More than one well-born woman thrown into infamous prisons with the most odious criminals died of despair in the midst of the unjust abjection to which she saw herself reduced. Chaperon, like all the judges who consented to make themselves the devoted instruments of social hatred, rejoiced in the midst of the terror which his name inspired, and under the general torpor that it created. He assisted at executions in full uniform; they were fête days for him, and on one occasion, anxious to hasten the execution of one of his condemned (it was a national militiaman who had taken part in the defence of Madrid, the 7th of July, against the revolted guards), he pulled, himself, the legs of the poor victim already hanging from the fatal gibbet, and this exploit finished, retired, proud to have exercised the functions of executioner and judge.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE TYRANNIES OF FERDINAND "THE DESIRED"

The places left in the power of the French were evacuated one by one, and finally, on the 20th of July, Spain gave its assent to the treaty of peace and friendship which the allies had concluded with France on the 30th of the preceding May. In the beginning of May the king had found a ministry which he modified before the end of the month, but at the head of it each time he placed the duke of San Carlos. The system of persecution continued and everything which seemed to favour innovations was vigorously opposed. Ferdinand regained his power, the cortes had disappeared, the constitution of Cadiz existed only in people's memories. The Spain of 1814 became again the Spain of 1807; as before, she was subject to the joint domination of prince and clergy. The legislative bodies which constituted the government and the chief judicial magistracy of 1808 were abolished in 1814.

Among the reforms introduced by Joseph's government and by that of the cortes after him, there were some which were unjust, extortionate, contrary to the re-established order; but there were others which should have been retained or modified with reservations. The king had no thought of making a choice. He considered, not the nature of the acts, but their origin; the good and the bad, salutary reform and disastrous measure, all were included in a general proscription. The state, impoverished by a long war, had at hand timely assistance in the estates of the religious communities, without being obliged to impose heavy burdens on the people; never had there been such a favourable opportunity for limiting and regulating these exaggerated possessions which had fallen into *mortmain*. A measure calling for investigation and reform which had been authorised by a papal bull under Charles IV might now have been carried into effect. But no attention was paid to anything of the kind. All their goods of which the cortes had disposed were returned to the convents, and at the same time a royal order re-established the holy office of the Inquisition on the ground that the government of usurpation and the pretended cortes had regarded the suppression of this tribunal as a very efficacious method of furthering their perverse schemes. The Jesuits were recalled, receiving again the goods which had belonged to them in the preceding century.

The administration of the realm was with great pains thrown again into the secular confusion out of which so many ministers had laboured to

[1814 A.D.]

disentangle it. Instead of the happy division of territory decreed by the cortes, there reappeared the spectacle of provinces governed by captains-general, who added to their plenitude of military and administrative authority certain judicial attributes. Lastly the councils of Castile, of the Indies, of the orders, of finance, marine and war, authorities independent of the ministry, whose traditions made them hostile to any reform undertaken in the interests of the reigning power or of the people, began again to operate.

Around Ferdinand was formed that too famous *camarilla*<sup>1</sup> controlled by the Russian minister, which, wholly lacking in a broad outlook, seemed to have no object but destruction and vengeance. At the same time that it overturned all which the revolution had done for the unity of Spain, it struck at all those men who had incurred its hatred. Ten thousand Spaniards had had the misfortune to attach themselves to the French cause; they were banished and their goods confiscated. The members of the regency, those of the cortes, all the ministers, all the individuals who had taken part in framing the constitution or had been zealous partisans of it, were brought before commissioners to be tried with no legal formality. The number of the condemned was considerable: *presides*, imprisonment in the citadels, exile—such were the penalties inflicted; the king made no use of his right of pardon and these acts continued with cold perseverance. Two years after the king had regained his full power, the prisons were still full, and long proscription lists still appeared at intervals.

Such a government could not fail to have a dire influence on the interior prosperity of the country; but it is difficult to imagine the extent of the disorder into which everything had been thrown. It was necessary to resort to arbitrary taxes which caused discontent without affording much relief to the treasury and to exorbitant custom duties which completed the destruction of commerce by breaking off all relations with foreign countries. The old régime, to remain in possession of Spain, would have needed the treasures of the New World to hold the country in subjection, and to defray the expenses of an administration useless at its best. But then it would have had to get the better of the insurrections already victorious or soon to be so in Venezuela, Chile, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Mexico, and to combat all the points of that immense continent at once. In order to quell their revolution, which was termed a revolt, an army needed first to be procured. To embark this army a fleet was necessary for the equipment of which both time and means were lacking; the government was reduced to bargaining for ships with Russia. In order to obtain immediate assistance it had to resort to a system of credit and give some assurance of a good administration together with securities for the public debt. This necessity was so pressing that in the ministerial council Don Martin Garay, surnamed the Necker of Spain, and several others of the same school were placed at the side of men like Eguia and Lozano de Torres, those defenders of ancient customs.

Garay had to promise services for which he had no resources and at the

[<sup>1</sup> Spanish kings had been ruled by favourites before; but Lerma and Olivares, even Valenzuela and Godoy, were men of education and breeding, whilst the secret advisers of Ferdinand were, many of them, coarse, ignorant buffoons. Meeting at night with noisy mirth they settled over the heads of the ministers questions of national policy, and even made and unmade ministers in mere caprice. Ministers were appointed or dismissed arbitrarily by Ferdinand for the most puerile reasons, and were sent into prison or exile at the idle fancy of the king. The members of the *camarilla* were treated in the same way, being one day in high favour and the next in jail. There were over thirty ministers in the six years from 1814 to 1820, an average of two months' duration for each. The most prominent member of the *camarilla* was a low buffoon called "Chamorro," who had been a water-carrier, another, Ugarte, was a second-hand broker; Tatischeff, the Russian minister, was also a member.]



[1818-1820 A.D.]

slowly and with difficulty being got together for a definitive expedition against the rebellious colonies, upon which all the hopes of the Spanish government were concentrated. The soldiers were frightened by tales of old mutilated warriors who had returned from Colombia. They were made to see the possibility of escaping the misfortune which awaited them without being exposed to the reproach or suspicion of a lack of courage. They were told stories of the last war, of the liberty conquered and then lost, of honour compromised.

The conspirators had more hope of success because they had the chief of the expedition himself, O'Donnell, the count of Abisbal, on their side; but this general turned traitor, denounced the conspirators, and even arrested some of them. But he too was later suspected, and was recalled with all the signs of disgrace. Persecutions recommenced. Everything pointed to a redoubling of rigour which in turn produced a redoubling of irritation and also of hope. The conspirators again took up their plans which had been interrupted for an instant, but this time they did not look to generals for help. A less distinguished leader gave the impulse to revolt in one of the cantonments.

The 1st of January, 1820, Rafael del Riego assembled a battalion encamped in a village, presented it with the constitution of 1812 as the law of the country, to which he made it swear allegiance, marched upon Arcos, surprised and captured O'Donnell's successor Calderon with his staff, and continued his march upon San Fernando where he was joined by Colonel Quiroga. But the gates of Cadiz remained closed to them, the garrison and the fleet took on a hostile attitude toward the rebels. At the same time an army of thirteen thousand men under General Freire arrived with forced marches to quell the insurrection. Thereupon Riego advanced towards the centre of Andalusia preaching insurrection and proclaiming the constitution of Cadiz. But the general indifference of the country was enough to thwart the enterprise of the insurgents. There was discouragement in the camp at the isle of Leon and, the governmental forces accumulating in Andalusia, it seemed that the rebellion was about to expire.

But the emissaries charged with arousing the provinces worked without relaxation. The 21st of February they succeeded in proclaiming the constitution in the capital of Galicia. Ferrol followed this example the 23rd. The same thing took place at Vigo. The government tried to compromise with the revolution and offered to assemble the cortes, but no confidence was placed in these promises because it was remembered that the decree of May 4th, 1814, by which the constitution was abolished, had promised to convoke the cortes but had not been carried into effect. The revolutionaries of the capital incited by the feebleness of the government worked openly towards their object. General Ballesteros, who came to Madrid to declare to the monarch that he must accept the constitution, was hailed as a deliverer by the king; the 19th of March Ferdinand took the oath for this act which he detested, at the moment when Riego's column, reduced to a few men, was forced to disband, and the garrison at Cadiz was energetically opposing the insurrection.

When the king had sworn to observe the constitution of 1812, the people and the troops which still remained faithful gave up without resistance. Everyone had been affected by the disastrous effects of the régime to which the country had been subjected for several years and all were glad to be freed from it without a civil war. The prisons were opened. The reins of government were in the hands of ministers whose ideas were wholly popular.





[1820-1821 A.D.]

to accomplish at once, what should have been the work of years. In immediately suppressing the greater part of the religious congregations and putting their goods up for sale, difficulties of more than one kind were created. In Catalonia and Valencia troops had to guard the gates of the monasteries day and night to prevent pillage and massacre. The king had hesitated to sanction the decree, and, after the session closed on the 9th of November, he made an unsuccessful trial of absolute power by nominating General Curvajal captain-general of New Castile, without the signature of the minister of war. The fermentation then became terrible and the minister augmented it in order to frighten the king. The latter threatened and insulted on all sides was forced to return to Madrid from his retreat in the Escorial. When one day his bodyguard was moved to pity by the dangers he ran, their quarter was besieged and the corps disorganised. The *ayuntamientos* of Madrid imposed their measure on the government.

After having swallowed so many affronts Ferdinand wished to make an attempt to shake off the yoke. He hoped with his new resolution to impose on his adversaries, who were troubled by the attitude of the great European powers, since England alone had frankly recognised the constitutional government. Russia had not concealed her displeasure at the triumph of the insurrection. Prussia and Austria held themselves in a reserve which boded no good, and France had tried to bring about a change in the position of the king of Spain. Ferdinand chose the opening of the second session of the cortes, on March 1st, 1821, to deliver his attack. After finishing the customary address prepared by his ministers he read a supplement added by himself complaining of the ministers who had permitted his person to be subjected to such outrages. The next day he dismissed them and chose a new cabinet from the moderate party of the chamber. Events in Piedmont and Naples gave cause for conflicting sentiments. Attempts of the absolutists gave rise to disturbances in Valencia, Corunna, Seville, and Barcelona. The king in order to ward off the anger of the demagogues sent a message to the cortes expressing his grief over events in Italy and his sympathy with the Italian patriots. The ministry, also desiring to forestall public defiance, on April 17th proposed two laws, one of which pronounced a sentence of death on all who should try to overturn the religion of the constitution, and a decree of banishment against any person who used any expression tending to such an overthrow. The second law provided that those accused of conspiracy and arrested by armed force, whatever their social position, be placed before a military tribunal chosen from the corps which had made the arrest. Judgment was to be pronounced within six days, and executed within forty-eight hours after being confirmed by the chief military authority. There was to be no appeal or exercise of pardon by the king. The populace would have liked to apply this law to all political offenders.

Confusion increased from day to day. Republican uprisals took place in Malaga and Barcelona. In the environs of Mauresa were armed bands in the name of "the faith." There was conspiracy at Murcia and absolutist agitation at Malaga. Bands were arming themselves on the frontier of France, and no one knew where to turn for money to organise the sadly needed troops. The cortes was moreover beginning to give way before the weight of events which attacked it on all sides. The question of the independence of America terrified it, and it did not care to renounce the pretensions of despotic Spain over men who had made use of the right of insurrection. But negotiations proved useless. Out of so many vast possessions Spain retained only a few fortified places occupied by the remnants of its armies.

Riots became more and more frequent at Madrid, but they were put down by the courage and *sangfroid* of Morillo. The cortes separated February 22nd, 1822, at a moment when Seville and Valencia were given up to rebellion, the Basque provinces and Navarre were infested with bands armed in the name of the altar and of the throne, others in Aragon, Alcañiz, Calatayud, Alagon, and Caspe proclaimed the authority of the Virgin and of religion.

The new cortes opened the 1st of March, 1822, with Riego as president, who very soon fell into discord with the new ministry presided over by Martinez de la Rosa. The quarrels between the branches of power incited absolutist riots and revolutionary insurrection throughout the country. The cortes finally decided to send a message to the king informing him of the necessity of putting a stop to the critical situation of the realm. After stating its complaints it demanded more resolute men at the head of affairs, and also the expulsion of prelates and priests who preached fanaticism and rebellion. The king relying on popular manifestation in his favour did not reply to the deputation. In Catalonia was a considerable body called Army of the Faith under the command of Miralles, Romagosa, and Marañon, called the Trappist, who succeeded in capturing Urgel by assault.<sup>d</sup>

#### CHATEAUBRIAND'S ACCOUNT OF THE CHAOS

The eminent writer Chateaubriand, who was a representative of France at the Congress of Verona, and who was one of the principal advocates of the French invasion of Spain, has brilliantly pictured the chaos of affairs, in 1822, which led him to think French intervention necessary. We may quote briefly his description :

The press, secret societies, clubs, had disorganised everything. Barcelona, Valencia, Pamplona had risen. One side cried "*Vive Dieu!*" the other "*Vive Riego!*" Killing was carried on in the name of Him who murders not and of him who murders. At Madrid, regiments fought against the royal grenadiers; young men walked about the streets crying for absolute monarchy. God and the king! It was all one in Spain; *las ambas magestades*. In the very house of cortes, deputies were saying that a refusal to listen to the popular complaint authorised dagger justice. Riego, the president, was powerless. He was always ready to sing the *Trágala*.<sup>1</sup> A couplet of it might at any moment mean a crown; but, if it was not good, the crown would vanish, and one would remain on the highway with the throne changed into a mere stage.

The *serviles*, who paraded their name as proudly as though it were a royal designation, profited by one hour's respite and reaction against secret societies to re-seize power. Royalist risings replaced revolutionary insurrections. The Descamisados, matadors in *servile* pay, were beaten in their turn. They revived the human sacrifices of their Carthaginian ancestors. Monarchical sections appeared under the old guise. Govostidi, Misas, Merino, fabulous heroes of the presbytery, rose in Biscay, Catalonia, and Castile. Insurrection spread. Quesada, Juanito, Santo-Ladron, Truxillo, Schafaudino, and Hierro were all alive with it. Finally Baron Eroles showed himself in Catalonia. Near him was Antonio Marañon. Antonio, called the Trappist, was first a soldier, then fled into cloistered life under the influence of passion.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "Swallow it," meaning the constitution, a popular street song of Cadiz, which may be compared with the "*Ga ira!*" of the French Revolution.

[1822 A.D.]

He carried cross and sword with equal enthusiasm. His military dress was a Franciscan gown, on which hung a crucifix. At his waist hung a sword, pistols, and a rosary. He used to gallop along carrying a whip. Peace and war, religion and license, life and death, were united in one man, who alternately blessed and exterminated. Crusades and civil massacres, psalms and war hymns, *Stabat Mater* and *Trágala*, genuflection and *jota Aragonese*, triumphs as martyr or soldier, souls mounting heavenwards to strains of the *Veni Creator*, rebels shot to military music — such was existence in this corner of the world.

Ferdinand, on the banks of the Tago, *rio qui cria oro e piedras preciosas*, had sworn to the constitution only to betray it. Sincere friends invited him to modify instructions, working with the cortes. Shortsighted friends urged him to overthrow them; royalist successes secretly flattered the king; the hope of an uncontrolled sovereignty gratified him. Want of power to wield power made him love it the more.

The king's birthday fell on the 30th of May. It was celebrated by the peasants of La Mancha, reunited at Aranjuez. In vain the soldiers repeated the patriotic cry of the peasants, even as the bodyguard at Versailles sang "*O Richard! O mon Roi!*" If France had not soon interfered, Ferdinand would have followed where Richard led Louis XVI. The militia marched on the people, and a townsman lifted his sword against Don Carlos — that last of the kings and one who waited so heavy a crown. At Valencia, a detachment of artillery wanted to deliver General Elio, shut up in the citadel. The Catalonian insurgents, now organised, had taken the name of the Army of the Faith. *f*

## CIVIL WAR

On the 21st of June, 1822, the Army of the Faith learned the isolated condition of the feeble garrison in Seo de Urgel. Romanillo, Romagosa, and Miralles, with the Trappist, arranged to meet under its walls. Helped by the citizens, they immediately surrounded the citadel. An assault was decided on, and the Trappist, setting an example to the soldiers, was the first to scale the tower, a crucifix in one hand, in the other a long whip, emblem of power. He braved the balls directed against him, and the soldiers, persuaded of his invulnerability, followed after. The tower was taken, the other forts were surrendered, and next day the citadel, with sixty artillery pieces and sixteen hundred guns, was in the hands of the apostolics. This first success was most important, for the French aides had, in promising help, made a formal condition that the Army of the Faith should possess at least one stronghold.

In proportion to the consternation excited among the leaders by the taking of Seo de Urgel, so was Ferdinand strongly roused and the courage of those about him stirred. It was now a question with them all of quickly striking a decisive blow. The instrument for this was soon found in the royal guard, wherein most lively discontent reigned because the cortes had shown intention of reorganising it, and who, seeing themselves in danger of losing all their privileges, had decided to fight against the national militia, whose principles were particularly odious to them.

This guard at Madrid alone numbered six entire battalions; that is, a more considerable force than the rest of the garrison, and there was, moreover, a brigade of carbiniers, then in garrison at Castro del Rio, near Cordova. A young officer, already celebrated at Cadiz for his royalist devotion,

Don Luis Fernandez of Cordova, received from the king or had a self-imposed mission to concentrate all this military force and lead it against the established system. The projected reforms of the cortes made this easy, and, on the 25th of June, the carbineers of Castro del Rio raised the standard of revolt in Andalusia. At Aranjuez and Madrid the royal guards began a series of struggles with the people and the militia — struggles which every day became more animated. On the 27th the court returned from Aranjuez to the capital, and this was the signal for fresh outbreaks. The royal ceremony of closing the first session of the cortes took place on the 30th. This important act was carefully observed, because Ferdinand did not think himself really in a position to act until he had freed himself from these importunate adversaries. But on returning from the ceremony, when the king had just regained his palace, a lively quarrel burst out. Some shouted "Long live our absolute king!" and some "Long live the constitution!" The guards were simply furious. Stationed at the Plaza de Oriente, they suddenly returned to the crowd, drove them back, and chased away some national militia picketed on the square. Then they organised themselves in military style as though in an enemy's city. Some among their officers belonged to the cortes, one of them, Mamerto Landáburu, wanted to recall his men to discipline. They insulted him, whereupon he drew his sword to punish the offenders himself, but, far from being listened to, he became their first victim. Three grenadiers struck him behind and he fell bathed in his own blood at the very gates of the palace.

The Madrid populace had for two years been too accustomed to scenes of tumult, to rise at the news of an isolated act. But the national militia took arms incontinently, and seized two plazas.

It was a critical moment for Ferdinand. Supported by a military force which would only take orders from himself, he could find a serious concourse in the ministry against all his enemies, if he only consented to the drawing up of a charter and granting the representative institutions for which he had shown so much anxiety before M. de Villèle. But the king thought himself now in a position to acquire absolute power. He knew that a regiment of militia had joined with the carbineers at Castro del Rio; and he had seen insurgent troops of Andalusia coming to help his guards at the very doors of his palace. However, he had to reckon with the militia and the garrison of Madrid, and these two elements were preparing to fight with a calmness and courage that argued success. These formed under the name of the Holy Battalion, and under Don Evaristo San Miguel there was a special corps composed of ardent patriots. The most distinguished generals, Ballesteros, Alava, and Palarea, showed inclination to make the laws respected. For several days the two parties remained face to face. The two battalions stationed at the palace were vilely seduced by the king and his courtiers. Money was freely scattered among the guards, and they were excited to fight by promises of all kinds.

By the 6th the necessity of taking a definite step was felt. But favourable news arriving of the insurrection of Castro del Rio, the aspect of affairs suddenly changed. Orders were given that neither the ministers, the state councillors, nor the political leader were to leave the palace, as grave events might happen during the night.

And just so it happened. The four Pardo battalions marched on the capital in the hope of surprising it and disarming the national militia. Arrived at one of the chief gates, they divided into three columns, one making for the artillery park, a second to the Puerta del Sol, and a third to the

[1823 A.D.]

Constitution square. As fate so willed, the first column met a patrol of the Holy Battalion, and this circumstance decided the issue of the struggle. A few stray shots awoke the people. In an instant every patriot was afoot; each ran to his post, and the guards were driven from the artillery park and the Plaza Mayor. They retired in sufficiently good order on the Puerta del Sol column, which had tried to take the Casa de Correos, but had been stopped by means of a strong barricade put up behind the door. A governmental committee exacted that the four rebellious battalions should lay down their arms, and allowed the other two to go out armed to settle in the villages of Vicalvaro and Leganes, with the one condition that they should give up the murderers of Landáburu.

This capitulation ought to have ended the struggle, but did nothing of the sort. The four battalions to be disarmed refused obedience, going out of the palace by a gate which led to the Campo del Moro and fleeing in the direction of Alcorcon, after discharging their arms at the militia. After this, no conciliatory efforts were made. Three columns, commanded by Ballesteros, Copons, and Palarea pursued and smote them hip and thigh, killing a great number and taking many prisoners. If some stories can be believed, Ferdinand crowned his infamy in these memorable days by personally urging on the conquerors. "After them! After them!" cried he to Morillo from his balcony, so ordering the extermination of those who had given themselves to his cause.<sup>b</sup>

The new administration began by banishing from the capital all those who were suspected of having counselled this last attempt of the court, and by appointing new officers: Quiroga received the command in Galicia and Mina in Catalonia. At Valencia General Elío was condemned for an imaginary crime by a council of war in obedience to the cries of the populace, and was strangled on September 11th. But while the conquerors of July 7th were pursuing their triumph, civil war was spreading its ravages, and events of a new order gave it a more political character. At Urgel a government was established with the title "supreme regency of Spain during the captivity of the king." This was recognised by a majority of the officers in the so-called royal army, by General Eguía, O'Donnell, the general inquisitor, the bishop of Pamplona and various juntas of the provinces. The troops obtained some successes and were aided by the French government. Its agents were favourably received by the congress at Verona. Nevertheless it was compelled to evacuate Urgel, and install itself at Puycerda, whence it was forced to retreat to France and terminate its existence at Toulouse on December 7th. Mina pursued the royalist bands relentlessly.

The next extra session of the cortes opened the 7th of October at a moment when war was raging on the northern frontier. The famous brigand Jayme Alfonso had raised the standard of the faith in Murcia; the priest Merino had also re-entered the field. Civil war raged in Castile, Andalusia, and in the province of Toledo.<sup>d</sup>

## INTERVENTION OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE (1823 A.D.)

But Spain was not allowed to work out its own salvation. Europe was dominated at this time by the Holy Alliance, which disguised a resolution to repress popular liberties and to maintain despotism under a pretended zeal for piety, justice, and brotherly love. At the Congress of Verona (October, 1822), France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia agreed upon armed intervention







[1820-1823]

needed, thanks to the business-like ways of the commissariat Ouvrard, who knew how to raise the speculative spirit in the Basques, and faithfully paid for all goods brought him. This brought into a country ravaged by poverty an unexpected good instead of ruin and desolation. There was no danger encountered in sealing the Pyrenees. The duke of Angoulême, conqueror without fighting, could establish his headquarters at Vitoria and patiently wait the concentration of all his columns before marching directly on the capital.

After the government departed, military authority was concentrated at Madrid in the hands of General O'Donnell, the count of Abisbal. A vigorous defence was expected in the Guadarrama defiles, but the count was not straightforward in his dealing. He had arrived at the highest honours by flattering each party successively. Instead of arming the population and occupying the most important points, he entered into secret negotiations with the staff of the duke of Angoulême, which had received most detailed instructions to spare bloodshed by using means of corruption, with which it had been generously provided. Gained over to the cause against which he had pronounced in 1820, Abisbal openly pointed out to his officers the impossibility of resisting the invasion. The army officers, indignant, went in a body to his house and intimated that it was time for him to resign. Abisbal realised the danger he ran, and fled to France.

An army thus abandoned by its leader at the last moment, found itself unfit to arrest the victorious march of the duke of Angoulême. Of the two generals who had succeeded Abisbal, one of them, Castel dos Ruis, decided to go on into Estremadura heading the bulk of his troops. The other, Zayas, was left with a feeble corps of from twelve to fifteen hundred to obtain a capitulation which would at least assure life and property to the inhabitants of Madrid. This last measure was full of foresight, for while the near coming of the French army was spoken of, Bessières, the same leader of the band who a little before had threatened Madrid, had made a bold move and pretended to occupy the city, while his followers hoped to give it over to pillage. But Zayas, with the help of the garrison and national militia, fearlessly barred his passage, forced him to retreat, and kept him outside the city walls until the arrival of the first French troops — this, in spite of his repeated threats and the rage of all the bad subjects greedily anticipating an easily won booty.

The multitude in all large cities are always ready for a spectacle, fête, or anything emotional. Moreover, Madrid had within her a crowd of partisans of absolutist principles: all those who belonged to the palace or the clergy, all those whom a liberal administration had deprived of employment, and the relations of refugees. These warmly welcomed him who was conqueror over a constitutional system. But the duke of Angoulême, although received with open arms, with acclamation, song, and dance, could hardly mistake the general feeling. For while the absolutists thronged the streets, the middle class, who alone desired and upheld liberty, hid their humiliation by their fire-sides. The duke had to put an end to the excesses of a mad populace who would overthrow the constitution and pillage the houses of all the well-known constitutionalists. For three days the *manchas* overran the town singing the *Péñes*; they went into the churches and solemnly put Ferdinand's portrait on the altar in place of the saints. In the hope of getting out of this anarchic situation, the duke hastened to give a definite form to the new government, which would definitely take matters in hand, in a proclamation dated from Alcobendas (23rd of May, 1823), announcing his intention of

[1823 A.D.]

leaving the Spaniards to govern themselves and inviting the former counsellors of Castile and the Indies to choose a regency to take the helm of the state until Ferdinand had recovered his full liberty. The duke of Angoulême made the terrible mistake of sanctioning nominations that were fatal and soon to be regretted. Then having seen the regency commence work with the duke of Infantado as president, and the new ministry formed wherein Canon Victor Saez was minister of foreign affairs and Don J. B. Erro minister of finance, he thought he could rest with perfect security and have nothing but his military operations to occupy him until Ferdinand was seized from the cortes.

The unlucky prince did not realise that, in confiding the government of Spain to personages picked out by former counsellors, he was practically condemning the unhappy country to ten years of a horrible system of persecution and religious fanaticism; that he was making the French flag responsible for the organisation of the most odious government which the human mind could conceive, and soiling the white flag he wished to hold high by making it the symbol of ignorance, fanaticism, and shameful arbitration.<sup>b</sup>

Meanwhile the cortes held Ferdinand practically a prisoner in Seville. On the approach of the French the king, protesting violently, was haled to Cadiz, after the appointment of a regency of three. In his diary Ferdinand describes vividly the humiliation of his position, and it is evident that he was treasuring up a wealth of grudges to repay with all his liberality in spite. Late in June Cadiz was besieged by land and sea. After a heavy bombardment, during which Ferdinand kept signalling to the duke of Angoulême, Cadiz fell on the 23rd of September, 1823, and on October 1st Ferdinand was delivered free to the French at Puerto de Santa Maria.

#### THE RETURN OF FERDINAND (1823 A.D.)

The 1st of October Ferdinand crossed from Cadiz to Santa Maria. He was scarcely in possession of his authority before he annulled every act which had been passed since March 7th, 1820, and announced that he considered himself released from all obligations towards his rebellious subjects and that he was going to punish their assaults. The extreme party which carried him with it no longer restrained its vengeance. The duke of Angoulême returned to Madrid and left immediately for Paris. The king proceeded to the capital where the absolutist party welcomed him in triumph. But there he saw that he must submit to a new yoke, for when certain officers of the voluntary royalists were presented to him, remembering the national militia he remarked that they were "the same dogs with different collars."

The conquerors gave themselves up to the intoxication of vengeance. One of the victims most passionately demanded was Riego, who paid the penalty for his deeds on the 7th of November in the public square of Madrid.<sup>1</sup> The generals Ballesteros and Morillo went into exile. The prisons were full to overflowing. The populace hurled its rage against the liberals, who were proscribed under the name of Negros; during the ministry of Victor Saez, the king's confessor, the hangman seemed to be the most active instrument of power.

[<sup>1</sup> He was dragged through the streets in a basket drawn at the tail of an ass; he was then hanged and quartered as if he were a felon.]

[1823-1826 A.D.]

Ferdinand felt himself too strongly ruled by the absolutist faction<sup>1</sup> and he feared moreover the projects the latter seemed to be forming in connection with his brother, the infante Don Carlos, for whom they hoped for a more complete devotion. His old partisan Bessières, now at the mercy of the faction, having called together his troops without the government's order, paid for it on the scaffold. Ferdinand was forced to retard the evacuation of Barcelona by the French for fear of the hostility from the partisans of pure despotism; he was obliged to go to Catalonia to scatter the assemblies of troops clamouring too loudly for an absolute king, and he returned to Madrid full of fear and suspicion. His reign after the fall of the Saez ministry is easy to characterise.

No new principle was proclaimed, no abuse was solemnly repudiated. Not one word of authority gave reason to suppose that at some time any thought would be given to reforming ancient customs, to modifying the absolute right of the throne which is inseparable from that of religion. In 1826, when the Brazilian charter was established in Portugal, a governmental proclamation still comprised all the duties of a Spaniard in the following precepts: "Love the king, obey the king, and die for his absolute power."

In spite of these formulas another spirit directed affairs. The council of state had to be purged of its most influential personages. Old adherents of the constitution and even of King Joseph surrounded the throne at times, because the king had no other sentiment than that of personal safety; he did not wish to give himself up completely to the party which was already proclaiming another name than his own. He had always had a horror of the constitution, but he did not ignore the fact that the exclamation of *Vive l'inquisition!* had been accompanied by another cry. Thus he saw himself compelled to crush both parties, to sacrifice without pity the authors of audacious attempts, no matter on which side they might be. Moreover he had good cause to treat with the new spirit because he had need of money for his administration and army, and to get it he had to revert to foreigners. It was declared by the government which succeeded him that from 1823 to the end of his reign the public debt increased 665,000,000 francs.

Ferdinand did not wish to constitute a party, to proclaim his principles,



CALOMARDE  
(Minister of Ferdinand VII)

[<sup>1</sup> The minister, Calomarde, was one of the most violent of the absolutists. Born in 1733 he had worked his way upward gradually till in 1823 he entered the cabinet. For ten years he was the most influential of the ministers and deserved much of the discredit due to all who managed the realm. It is unnecessary to dispute over the exact share of each. There was villain enough for all. In 1833 Calomarde sided with Don Carlos and was banished, dying in Toulouse in 1842.]

[1826-1833 A.D.]

to cause his interests to dominate. He merely chose men reputed to be skilful and opposed them in his council to men who were necessary but dangerous. Spain lent itself to this oblique course because her passions had died out: the voluntary royalists who opposed the Negros had been punished. The majority of the episcopal body turned a deaf ear to cries for the re-establishment of the Inquisition. In 1827 the old hands "of the faith," who had arisen in Catalonia against Ferdinand and his ministers, had been crushed with no hope of return. The same causes brought about the extinction of the liberal effervescence. Mina himself was obliged to escape by flight from the persecutions of populations which had once celebrated his exploits.

Ferdinand appeared equally indifferent or undecided in regard to the members of his family. On March 29th, 1830, when his young wife Maria Christina of Naples was pregnant, he issued a "pragmatic sanction" proclaiming as a law of the state a resolution of King Charles IV, made in accord with a demand of the cortes of 1789, abolishing the Salic law instituted in 1713 by Philip V, and thus re-established the right of women to inherit the throne of Spain; but he afterwards showed no predilection for the young princess Maria Isabella Louisa, who was born in July of the same year.

Again he assembled the most devoted partisans of his brother Don Carlos about his throne, and when an attack of the gout brought him to the edge of the tomb in September, 1832, he signed a decree revoking the new law of succession. Then, returned to life again, he placed the infante Don Carlos at a distance, drove away the ministers who had wrung the fatal signature from his feeble hand and denounced their odious manoeuvres; and as though to protect himself against new obsessions he placed the government in the hands of the queen, his wife, until his health should be restored. He let her publish decrees of amnesty for political criminals, take measures to destroy the existence of the voluntary royalists, reduce the privileges of the council of Castile; then, for fear of seeing her advance too rapidly in the way of reforms, he had her announce in a manifesto of December that he did not intend to introduce the slightest innovation into the constitutional laws of the monarchy, nor to change anything that was established. On January 4th,



DON CARLOS I

1833, he announced that, as his health was sufficiently recovered, he had reassumed the reins of government. The day before, so that they might receive full authenticity, the queen placed in the archives the act of the cortes of 1789 and the revolution of Charles IV in regard to the abolition of the Salic law. In spite of his antipathy towards innovators Ferdinand felt that it was necessary to constitute a political force around the cradle of his daughter. Men for whom the name of Don Carlos was a menace came together to

(31416)

find the young princess. A decree of April 7th, 1833, convened the cortes at Madrid. The 3rd of June, the nobles, prelates, and delegates of the cities took an oath of allegiance to the princess of the Asturias, as heir of the crown of Spain and the Indies. The 29th of September, 1833, Ferdinand died, leaving a heavy sceptre in the hands of his daughter.<sup>6</sup>

#### RISE OF CARLISM

Though Ferdinand while alive had been accumulating legal acts in favour of direct descent, he had attached more and more importance to obtaining the quiescence of his brother Don Carlos in his sovereign will. He had sent a verbal order asking when he thought of recognising the already proclaimed princess. Don Carlos, not to be behindhand, profited by this to take up a definite position as claimant in the eyes of the public. He wrote his brother a letter which he hastened to make public, in which these words were found:

"You ask whether or not I intend recognising your daughter as princess of the Asturias? My conscience and honour will not permit this. My rights to the crown, if I survive you, your leave no male posterity, are so legitimate that I need not enumerate them. These rights were given by God when he willed my birth, and he alone can take them away by giving you a son, an event that I desire perhaps even more than you. Moreover, I am defending the rights of all those who come after me. Thus I find myself obliged to send you the enclosed declaration, of which I send a formal copy to you and other sovereigns, to whom I hope you will communicate it.

Adieu, very dear brother of my heart. I am always yours, always yours lovingly, and ever ever present in the prayers of your most affectionate brother,

CARLOS.

The declaration was thus worded:

(31417)

"I, Carlos Maria Isidoro de Bourbon, infante of Spain, am thoroughly convinced of my legitimate rights to the Spanish throne in case of my surviving you, or your not leaving male issue. I say that my conscience and my honour will not permit me to swear to or recognise any other rights, and thus I declare,

Your affectionate and faithful servant,

REYERNAU, April 29th, 1833.

DON CARLOS, Infante.

In answer to this declaration Ferdinand wrote to his brother saying that, though dreaming of violating his conscience, he nevertheless must forbid returning to Spain, "for very serious political reasons and in consideration of the country's laws." He could not, he continued, make the declaration to foreign kings, basing his refusal on the principle that foreign governments ought not to interfere in interior state affairs. The salutations used were always full of an affectionate tenderness that formed a curious contrast to a real purport of the letters.

Don Carlos submitted to the banishment imposed, but had no idea of leaving Portugal, so as soon as an order came to go to Italy, he busied himself with reasons for not doing anything of the kind, not openly refusing that edict which he had always affected to owe his brother, but inventing a jumble of pretexts for not rendering it. The now published correspondence between the two brothers on this occasion shows, on the infante's part, a series of successive inventions to excuse his stay in Portugal, and from the king a refutation of the vain pretexts advanced, and a constant endeavour to remove obstacles to departure. Ferdinand, at length, left off using a language of fraternal love and spoke as an annoyed king, desiring his brother to say whether he intended to obey or not. The answer was proud and dis-

[1833-1834 A.D.]

dainful. Don Carlos said if he left Portugal, he would have the air of a fugitive who had committed some crime: that he declined to put himself in such a shameful position, and, if really guilty, demanded a trial according to the laws of the realm (July, 1833).

From this date Don Carlos led a party quite in opposition to his sovereign, although keeping up an appearance of not stirring up civil war before his brother's death. He began to gather round him in his little court at Ramalhao, then at Mafra and Coimbra, all those who had refused their oath to Princess Isabella. Inflammatory pamphlets went thence in every direction to spread doubt in men's minds as to the legality of Ferdinand's testamentary arrangements. A few active men were already engaged in raising army corps. Baron Los Valles was sent into France and England to convince those two governments of the justness of the claim put forth by the Spanish infante.<sup>b</sup>

#### WAR OF THE CHRISTINOS AND CARLISTS (1833-1839 A.D.)

Scarcely had King Ferdinand VII closed his eyes, when the apostolic party in northern Spain, especially in Navarre and the Basque provinces, proclaimed Don Carlos, brother of the king, as King Charles V. In order successfully



QUEEN MARIA CHRISTINA

to oppose the Carlists, who fought for absolutism and priesthood, there was nothing for the regent, Maria Christina, to do but to throw herself into the arms of the liberal party. Thus the seven years' war between Carlists and Christinos grew out of a fight for the throne into a civil war and a battle for principles. The Carlists had the upper hand to start with, owing to the ability of their general, Zumalacarregui, against whom the Christinos could place no equally matched leader. From Portugal, where Don Carlos was residing with his beloved nephew, Don Miguel, this general threatened the frontiers of Spain.

Hence Christina turned to England and France, and the Quadruple Alliance of April 22nd, 1834, was concluded between these states and Spain and Portugal, the object of

which was to maintain the constitutional throne of Isabella and of Maria da Gloria and to drive out the two pretendants, Carlos and Miguel. Still, in that same year, these two men, who enjoyed the favour of the eastern powers and of the pope to a high degree, were obliged to leave Portugal. Carlos went to England in June, on an English ship, but he escaped again in July,



[1834-1855 A.D.]

and, after an adventurous journey through France, appeared suddenly in Navarre to reanimate the courage of his followers by his royal presence. The war was carried on with passion and cruelty on both sides. After the death of Zumalacarregui, who lost his life on June 14th, 1835, at the siege of Bilbao, the Christinos, who exceeded in numbers, seemed to have the advantage. But they could accomplish little against the restless Cabrera, who had just received his first ecclesiastical orders, and had gone over into the camp of the pretender. He was a most able guerilla leader. The turning-point came first when the command of the Christino army was intrusted to Espartero. He conquered the Carlists in 1836 in a bloody battle at Luchana, hastened to the relief of the capital when the Carlists advanced to the vicinity of Madrid in 1837, and compelled Carlos to retreat.

To these losses was added discord in the camp itself. The pretender, wholly lacking in competence and independence, was the tool of his *camarilla*,<sup>1</sup> who in the choice of a general paid more attention to a knowledge of the catechism than of the arts of war and displaced the most able leaders to put up their own creatures in their stead. The new general, Guergué, was beaten several times by Espartero in 1838, which gradually cooled the enthusiasm of the northern provinces. He was deposed and the chief command given to the crafty Maroto, who, as an enemy of the *camarilla* could have maintained himself against their continual attacks only by gaining great victories. Since he could not win these against the superior force of Espartero, he concluded the Treaty of Vergara with him on August 31st, 1839, according to which he went over to the Christinos with his army and obtained in return an amnesty and the confirmation of the freedom of Basque and Navarre. With this, the cause of Don Carlos was hopelessly lost. The latter went to France in September with many of his followers, and had to pass six years under police supervision in the city of Bourges. Not until 1845, after he had transferred all his pretensions to his eldest son, the count of Montemolin, did he receive permission to depart, whereupon he betook himself to Italy. He died at Trieste on March 10th, 1855. His followers continued to fight for some



THOMASO ZUMALACARREGUI

[<sup>1</sup> Burgos thus sums up Don Carlos: "The heart of this prince was as incapable of elevated sentiments as his head was of political combinations. His profound ignorance made him regard the enthusiasm displayed by the passionate and disheartened crowds as general and unanimous, and the delight of the populace he regarded as a sign of approbation of the system of intolerance with which he was credited. In the unarrested march of his force to Madrid in 1837 the delighted pretendant saw the hand of providence raising him to the throne of his ancestors, and his apathy prevented his taking the means which his fatalism moreover considered unnecessary. His courtiers, puffed up with passing advantages, thought that by dint of them and the stolid impassivity of their sovereign they could give the rein to their resentments."]

time longer in Catalonia under Cabrera. But they also were overpowered by Espartero, and in July, 1840, with a force of about eight thousand men, were obliged to flee to France, where they were kept under supervision. The civil war was now at an end, but the strife continued. Espartero, entitled duke of victory (Vittoria) was the most influential and the most popular personage in Spain, with whom everyone, even the queen-regent, had to reckon.

#### THE STORMY REGENCY OF CHRISTINA (1833-1841 A.D.)

In the meanwhile the latter neither by her private life nor by her political conduct had been able to win the love and respect of the Spaniards. Her liberal attacks did not go very deep and as soon as the immediate necessity was past they gave place to the most opposite tendencies. At the spread of the Carlist rebellion in 1834, she had placed the once persecuted Martinez de la Rosa, known as a poet and writer, at the head of the ministry and had given the country a constitution [the *estatuto real*] which satisfied no one. The cortes convened again after a long interval and soon became divided into the two hostile factions of the moderates (*moderados*) and the progressists (*progresistas*). The ministries changed rapidly. The progressists demanded abolition of the monks' orders and confiscation of their property, which was in part carried out. In single cities it came to bloody excesses; cloisters were destroyed, monks and nuns murdered, priests and Jesuits driven over the border. The continual wavering, the frequent dissolution of the cortes increased the discontent; the progressists in 1836 feared a reaction and wanted to make concessions. Revolts were organised in the larger cities, the constitution of 1812 was placed on the programme. The government responded by placing Madrid in a state of siege, by disbanding the national guard. Revolt broke out in the summer residence, La Granja, whither Christina had retreated. Soldiers of the guard forced their way into the palace and compelled her to adopt the constitution of 1812.

A constitutional assembly discussed a revision of the same, and thus the new constitution of 1837 came into being. Christina took oath to keep it, but hoped by watching over the election to bring the *moderados* into the cortes and the ministry. When she succeeded in accomplishing this in 1840, she issued a municipal law in accordance with which the election of municipal authorities was placed in the hands of the government. This caused a revolt in Madrid and other cities, and when Christina commissioned Espartero, who had just returned victoriously, to quell the uprising in Madrid he refused to be made the tool of an unpopular policy. And yet he was the only man who could check the revolution which was threatening on all sides. Hence Christina was obliged to appoint Espartero as ministerial president on September 16th, 1840. He chose all progressist members for his cabinet, made a triumphal entry into Madrid on September 29th, and placed his programme before the queen-regent in Valencia on October 5th. In this he demanded repeal of the municipal law, dissolution of the cortes, and dismissal of the *camarilla*.

The regency had little attraction more for Christina under such conditions. Other influences were also at work. Shortly after the death of her husband, she had taken a handsome life-guardsmen, called Muñoz, into her favour, had made him chamberlain, and had secretly married him. The union was soon proclaimed by a large number of children, but not until 1844 was there a public marriage, whereupon Muñoz was made duke of Rianzares and grandee

[1811-1812 A.D.]

of Spain. By this act she had thrown away her womanly respect and laid herself open to all sorts of attacks, so that she preferred to leave the country. On October 12th. she resigned her position as regent and travelled to France.

## ESPARTERO, REGENT (1811-1812 A.D.)

The newly elected cortes, on May 8th, 1811, named Espartero regent of Spain and guardian of the queen Isabella and her sister the infanta Luisa Fernanda. Nor did he prove unworthy of this high position, seeking to establish order in all branches of the state administration and to preserve his respect before the clergy and the pope. Since he knew how energetically Christina, supported by Louis Philippe, was working against him with her influence and her money, he attached himself more to England, whereupon those who were envious of him, and his rivals, accused him of selling Spain's commercial interests to England. The fact that he quelled a rebellion in Barcelona in 1812 by a bombardment, was charged against him as tyranny. New revolts broke out in the south in 1813; Colonel Prim hastened to Catalonia and placed himself at the head of the soldiers who had been won over through large expenditures of money by Christina's agents. Espartero's bitterest enemy, General Narvaez, landed in Valencia and entered Madrid with his troops. Espartero, against whom moderados and progressists had conspired together, found himself abandoned and set sail for England from Cadiz on July 29th, 1813. Not until 1848 was it safe for him to return.



ESPARTERO, REGENT

## THE PROFLIGATE QUEEN ISABELLA II (1813-1868 A.D.)

In November, 1813, the thirteen-year-old Isabella was declared of age. She took over the reins of government, appointed Narvaez, who had been raised to be duke of Valencia, president of the ministry, and called back her mother. This opened the doors and gates to French influence, to the game of intrigue and reaction. The constitution of 1812 was changed in 1815 in favour of absolutism, the freedom of the press was limited, the national guard abolished, and the cortes even more than in France reduced to a nominal existence. In order to insure for his house a lasting influence

[1845-1851 A.D.]

in Spain and to obtain for it a reversion of the Spanish throne, Louis Philippe, acting with Christina, brought about a marriage on October 16th, 1846, between Isabella and her cousin Francis de Asis, and between the infanta Luisa and the duke of Montpensier, the youngest of his sons. (Louis Philippe had planned at first to marry Isabella also to one of his sons, the duke of Aumale, but he gave this up on account of the decided protest of Palmerston's cabinet and chose instead for Isabella in Francis de Asis that



QUEEN ISABELLA II

person who, on account of his mental and bodily weakness, would stand least in the way of his son, Montpensier). This marriage which was conducted wholly in secret cost Louis Philippe the friendship of the English cabinet. The pleasure-loving Isabella, following in the footsteps of her mother, soon grew heartily tired of her Francis and enjoyed herself in July, 1847, at La Granja, with the handsome and agreeable progressist General Serrano and other officers, while Francis found himself condemned to a hermit's life at the hunting castle of Pardo. The marriage was a very unfortunate one, and Christina, the evil genius of Spain, fled one day and came back the next.

Isabella kept more and more to the path of her father Ferdinand, and pursued an administrative policy which joined military despotism to clerical

absolutism and in which confessors and soldiers played a rôle, and even guided the rudder of state. While such conduct repelled the liberal elements from her side the frivolity of her private life made her lose all claims to respect.<sup>1</sup> She even went so far that the legitimacy of all her children was doubted. No wonder that from time to time revolts broke out, which, as is customary in Spain, were incited and led by officers. The government saved itself by executions and deportations. The ministerial president Marshal Narvaez, who bore the title duke of Valencia, was always ready for such drastic measures. His successor was Gonzalez Bravo [or Brabo] Murillo, who soon had the whole army against him.<sup>e</sup> His cabinet was very significant and important, not only because of the question of economies, but also because of Bravo Murillo's project to abolish or diminish the military preponderance which was not very beneficial to the country. The germs of discord remained, to be united with those displayed in other acts, such as the ostentatious reception of Narvaez in Paris by the Spanish representative, the duke de Sotomayor, who was replaced by the marquis de Valdegamas, and

[<sup>1</sup> In 1852 a priest named Merino stabbed her, but her life was saved by the whalebone of her corsets. The priest was garrotted, his body burned.]

[1851-1868 A.D.]

the ridiculous prohibition of the farce called the *entierro de la sardina* (the burial of the sardine) and the piñata ball. The burial of the sardine is part of the carnival festivities on Ash Wednesday. The piñata ball is a masked ball at the theatre—the piñata being a large earthenware jar full of sweets; the dancers are blindfolded, turned round, and have to try and break the jar with poles, after which there is a general scramble for the sweets. These sports were prohibited by the minister of government without consulting his colleagues, whom he thus compromised, occasioning resignations and annoyances, while the prestige of the new cabinet in the palace suffered somewhat from the ill-judged and useless measure of one of its members. In an unfriendly spirit towards the ministry, Napoleon showed marked honour to Narvaez and Sotomayor. General O'Donnell [who had won distinction in the Morocco wars of 1860 and become duke of Tetuan] showed himself somewhat disrespectful towards the minister of war because he had made several military appointments out of the order of seniority, the young officer of infantry wishing to put an end to this injustice.]

Spain was, on the surface, a monarchy akin to that of France, Belgium, and England. Below the surface, as soon as the dynastic peril had subsided

and the throne of the queen was somewhat consolidated, the old reactionary undercurrent set to work. A novel and powerful instrument of reaction—militarism—appeared on the scene and made Spain sadly famous. Its interference in politics and its *pronunciamientos* were fatal to discipline and, what was far worse, to the sense of respect for parliamentary legality which is the corner-stone of modern institutions. It must be said that Castilian militarism somewhat atoned for its interference in politics by using its extraordinary influence quite as often in the cause of liberty and of progress as in defence of reactionary cabinets and palace favourites. It will suffice to say that Marshal Espartero acted thus from 1836 to 1843 to crush the first Carlist risings, and to check the caprices of the regent Doña Christina, and then, in 1854-1856, again stepped in to check another reaction. Marshal O'Donnell was the champion of moderate liberalism from 1856 to 1866, which might

have preserved the crown of Queen Isabella had she not always harboured preferences for retrograde statesmen and generals. Marshals Prim and Serrano, too, were in the van of the progressists and advanced liberals who would fain have served their queen, but went over to revolution and conspiracies at last in sheer disgust. Such names can well be set against those of the military champions of political reaction and religious intolerance—marshals Narvaez [who died in 1868], Cheste, Novaliches, and Calonge.<sup>2</sup>



MARSHAL NARVAEZ



[1868-1869 A.D.]

In July, 1868, a great military revolt was to break out. The minister caused the most important generals, among them Serrano and Dulce, to be deported to the Canary Isles, and even banished from Spain the queen's brother-in-law, the duke of Montpensier, whose name seemed to serve as a watchword for the revolution. Excitement increased in the land. Isabella thought herself compelled to enter into closer relations than hitherto with

her friend and ally, as she called Napoleon III, and arranged an interview with him for the 18th and 19th of September in the two frontier posts Biarritz and San Sebastian. Napoleon was accredited with the plan of recalling his troops from Rome and filling their places with Spanish soldiers in the event of his beginning his long-threatened war with Germany. Isabella, who had just been honoured by receiving the Golden Rose of the Faith and Virtue from the pope, was very much in favour of such a project.



GENERAL LEOPOLD O'DONNELL

## THE REBELLION OF 1868 A.D.

But at the very moment when the Franco-Spanish alliance was to have been concluded and their majesties were at their appointed posts, rebellion broke out in Cadiz. It was the 18th of September. The banished generals Serrano and Prim returned, the rear-admiral Topete joined them with the whole fleet, the few faithful troops were conquered by Serrano on September 28th, near Alcolea. All the larger cities, even Madrid, took sides with

the revolution with the cry, "Down with the Bourbons! down with the Jesuits!" on the 29th; and so there was nothing left for Isabella but to leave San Sebastian the next day and to take refuge on French soil. She at once took up her residence at Pau whence she uttered a passionate but unavailing protest against her exile. When she realised that all hope of restoration, for the present, was gone, she went to Paris, where she died in 1904.

The direction of the state was intrusted to the leaders of the revolution. Marshal Serrano took the position of president of the ministry, Prim became minister of war, Topete of marine. The order of Jesuits and a number of cloisters were abolished, freedom of faith was proclaimed; in Barcelona and Madrid even Protestant services were held. The newly elected cortes, convened on February 18th, 1869, deliberated over a new constitution, declared in favour of a constitutional monarchy, and appointed Serrano regent, until a suitable candidate could be found. The political outlook, however, was not favourable for Spain. There existed a strong republican party, which threatened to oppose with arms the establishment of a new throne; the island of Cuba, that "pearl of the Antilles," was in full revolt, ready to break loose from Spain and found an independent republic; and Carlism again raised its head.<sup>e</sup>



## PARALLA ON THE "MILD ANARCHY" OF 1869 A.D.

At the end of the year 1869, the state of the nation clearly showed that when parties pursue private rather than public aims the result can be no other than what then existed—that is, a monarchy without a monarch, a powerless regency, a constitution disregarded and infringed, an ill-directed and expiring *cámara*, a dictatorship without a dictator, and an empty treasury and a retrograding revolution.

We do not lay the fault of this upon any of the men concerned in our revolution, and we do not think that history does so either, but we cannot cease to lament the lack of one of those men of genius who take the lead without imposing themselves. The situation had not improved at the beginning of the year 1870.

The cortes again resumed its labours. With praiseworthy frankness, Prim, as president of the council, said that they had reached a pitch of confusion in which, surrounded by thick clouds, they might come near to realising the fable of the two wolves who met on a dark night and devoured each other so that nothing was left but their tails.

Union facilitates the work of construction which is gradually perfected in every detail, but dissension entails the fate of the builders of the tower of Babel. A nation can show no sadder or more futile spectacle; and yet it is the history of all. Is mankind condemned ever to turn in this vicious circle and never to get free from it? It is impossible to think so, for in the midst of this continual conflict of interests and bastard ambitions the nineteenth century has achieved imperishable victories.

Nations conquer their sovereignty and of their own right make their laws, and struggle unceasingly to overcome ancient traditions, uproot absurd vices and tyrannical tendencies. Thus even as science pierces the mountains, explores the depths of the sea, discovers and explains the spots on the sun, and almost realises the aforetime foolish and chimerical ambition of the Titans; so politics, that science of modern societies and of free and civilised nations, will find the solution of the social problem bringing the rights of all men, the interests of all nations, and the good of all humanity into combined and harmonious action. A vast idea like a great discovery suffices to bring the whole world into close relationship. And like the electric current which flashes words and ideas from pole to pole, a grand political inspiration, social, human, fraternal, moral, just, and worthy, needs but to be hinted to triumph. Printing had but to be invented to extend over the whole world; steam came into immediate use, and Franklin needed but a lightning-conductor for Turgot to exclaim:

*"Eripuit celo fulmen  
Sceptrumque tyrannis."*

And the lightning-conductor alone produced the cable which brings both worlds into constant communication, the thread which annihilates distances and transmits thoughts and events. Politics is indeed a science, and if nothing is impossible to science, shall anything be impossible to politics?

This work of social reconstruction advances slowly, all collecting materials and contributing their ideas to its perfectionment; the work will be completed; it is but a question of time, and what appears long in the life of the individual is very short in the life of nations. Liberty and civilisation being inseparably welded, where civilisation is least, liberty finds most obstacles, and the task must be more difficult and laborious.



[1870 A.D.]

It is probably no great injustice to the memory of General Prim, to suggest that he also was a hero with too easy a conscience. Is one bound to have more convictions, more principles than the Cid? "Do you know," said Castelar when orator of the opposition, "who is General Prim's god? It is Chance. Would you know his religion? It is Fatalism. And his ideal? The dream of always keeping power in his own hands. On that everything is brought to bear and to that everything is sacrificed. Institutions matter nothing to him; he bends them to his convenience. Laws count even less to him. They are mere spider webs, to be brushed aside by the swords of his captain-generals. Parties are as nothing, he dissolves them. Engagements have never hampered him, for he forgets them. The most inconceivable alliances are not repugnant, provided he and his are advantaged thereby."

But it is just to add that General Prim, when he came into power, astonished his enemies as much as his friends by the continued wisdom of his conduct. The most redoubtable trial of an adventurer is success. His ideas must grow with his fortune; having gained the coveted rank, he must break with his past, his habits and memories, so as to transform himself into a statesman. Only those who have good stuff in them lend themselves to such changes, and Don Juan Prim soon proved that the Aranjuez conspirator possessed the qualities of a politician, a quick sense of justice, a power of realising situations, skilful management of men and interests, and tact sufficient to use his authority without doing anything irregular. He could use strategy in councils, employing a sober yet nervous eloquence which went straight to the point, and possessed above the art of speaking the more useful one of being silent. A Portuguese has remarked that this last talent, strongly admired among a talkative people, made a man resemble a Gothic cathedral, and gave him the prestige of obscurity and mystery.

To be president of the council was no easy task. It was already difficult to govern an assembly composed of two parts; the difficulty was still greater when there were three. Oscillations from the Centre, who formed the necessary support for the majority, gave the minister perpetual anxiety and forced him to seesaw politics. The radicals, or democratic monarchists, led by a highly popular man, Rivero, and a man of great talent, Martos, played a very considerable rôle in the constituent cortes of 1869. They were at one with the liberal unionists in desiring a king, even as they agreed with the republicans to make a democratic constitution with all possible speed. Government could only expect a conditional support from them. It was inconvenient to satisfy them, dangerous to let them be discontented. It was



GENERAL PRIM

necessary then perpetually to negotiate with these monarchists by circumstance. A single imprudence might have lost all.

Monarchists by conviction were themselves divided into a crowd of small parties, each having its candidate for the throne.

General Juan Prim needed all his attention and skill to maintain some degree of cohesion among so variegated a majority. He had to dominate the unruly, satisfy the ambitious by a portfolio, and the vain by a decoration; to reassure the timorous, calm the impatient, even like a good sheep-dog who runs ceaselessly round a flock, heading the foremost, driving in the scattered, hastening the laggards. Each party sought to gain the general for their candidate, for Don Juan, as someone said at the congress, resembled a political zero, which, placed at the right of a figure, increased its value tenfold, and a candidature quoted at nine on the political bourse would be worth ninety when it had gained the approving smile of the president. His reigning principle was to discourage no illusion. "He knows quite well," said the opposition, "that he cannot maintain his position much longer in this unstable equilibrium, which consists in keeping in with all parties, being against all parties, and above them all. The secret of his politics is to keep everyone hoping. He gives them no promises, for he is circumspect and never commits himself. He never betrays himself by his acts, being very reserved, diplomatic, and making no engagements; but he gives hope by his enigmas, his reticences, his air of mystery."

Don Juan, however, was not always so reserved. When occasion demanded, he denounced to the majority the dangers which threatened them, adjuring them to seek safety in conciliatory politics, short of which only misery and disaster could be expected. If his advice was ill received, he complained that they made government impossible, and spoke of retiring. This manœuvre, executed with military precision, never failed of its effect. Thanks to his warning, his threats, and his reticences, that same majority, composed of men who never agreed nor loved one another, persisted in remaining united, a rare spectacle in Spain."

#### THE HUNT FOR A KING

Thus there existed a monarchical constitution with no monarch; and a large number of republicans took pains to make a monarchy impossible by speeches in the cortes and by revolts in the provinces. No one seemed desirous of the crown of a country politically lamed by its party system and financially rotten. The ministerial president and minister of war, Count Prim, made every effort to find a suitable personage, but for a long time in vain. The former regent of Spain, Espartero; the Coburg prince, Don Ferdinand, father of the king of Portugal; King Luiz of Portugal himself; Prince Thomas of Genoa, nephew of the king of Italy—refused in turn. The duke of Montpensier, whose wife was sister to the ex-queen Isabella, was ready to accept it, but on account of this very relationship he had many opponents among the monarchs, who, when it came to selecting a Bourbon, preferred Prince Alfonso, Isabella's son, to her brother-in-law.

Isabella made her plan with this end in view. Acting on the advice of her friend the empress Eugénie she signed her resignation on June 25th, 1870, and made over all her political rights to her son Alfonso. First, however, there was question of another prince. Among those who in 1869 had returned a negative answer was Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen,

[1870-1871 A.D.]

who, as a Catholic, as husband of a Portuguese princess, as a relative of the Napoleonic house, and as belonging to the reigning house of Prussia, seemed a very suitable person in the eyes of the government. The latter returned to this choice in 1870 and in June sent a deputation to him. This time the prince accepted. The deputation returned to Madrid, a ministerial council was held, and on June 2nd it was decided to offer the crown of Spain to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern officially and to proclaim this candidacy publicly. The news was brought to all the capitals of Europe on July 3rd, by telegraph. The country stood at a new crisis of affairs.<sup>e</sup>

Napoleon III of France opposed the giving of the crown of Spain to a Prussian prince, and secured his resignation. This success led him to further demands, which he pressed so outrageously that Prussia, long ready to avenge its old disgraces before French armies, returned answers that led Napoleon to declare war. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 was the result. Prussia took a new place in the world and in Germany, the French armies were surrendered in droves by their king and his general officers, and France was rid both of her Napoleon III and of her military reputation. And all this as the result of the Spanish advertisement for a king. The prince Hohenzollern, who had refused the bauble once, and had had it taken away when he reached out to accept it, was dropped from the eligible list.<sup>a</sup>

#### AMADEO'S REIGN (1870-1873 A.D.); AND THE REPUBLIC (1873-1874 A.D.)

Marshal Prim had persuaded the second son of the king of Italy, Prince Amadeo, duke of Aosta,<sup>1</sup> to accept the candidacy. The cortes elected him king of Spain on November 16th, 1870, with a vote of 191 to 98. He arrived in Madrid on January 2nd, 1871, and took oath to support the constitution a few days after Prim had fallen a victim to a murderous assault. The government of the new king, who had made Marshal Serrano first ministerial president, was a continual fight for the ministry between the monarchic factions, while the republicans and Carlists organised revolts in the south and north.<sup>e</sup>

Serrano was a soldier risen to the highest ranks through the favour of Queen Isabella, whom he had not hesitated to betray the moment he believed that others would be put over him in the highest offices of politics and the army. His real ability as a general was more than mediocre. Allied with Prim in the insurrectional movement and the pronunciamiento of 1868 he was able to overthrow his benefactress' throne; but the day after the 29th of September he saw himself transformed by his colleague into a puppet king. Prim, who was his superior in a hundred ways, especially in ability and energy, henceforth ruled over him. Not daring to revolt against his comrade, he submitted tranquilly, contenting himself with the pomp of the regency which he had received in exchange for his submission to the imperious will of the minister of war.

[<sup>1</sup> "Young, valiant, having bled for the country whose dominions his father had extended, crowned with glory, beloved by his fellow citizens, educated in the liberal spirit and holding an enviable position, he neither coveted the throne of Spain, his aspirations being ever modest, nor refused any sacrifice to win success for the nation which had won his sympathy from the first.

[<sup>e</sup> "The liberals could not deny that Amadeo belonged to a family which represented the liberal spirit, more than any other in Europe, and which had seconded the aspirations of lovers of liberty. The fact of the duke of Aosta's being educated in the latter school, was a guarantee not to one party, but to all liberals; and if he obtained the votes of the constituents, sacrificing his most dear affections to the love of the country, there should be but one rule for all liberal monarchists—king and liberty. This rule had inspired great men in England to found the monarchy of 1688 and this is what Spanish patriotism advised." — PIRALA.]

After the assassination of the marshal, Serrano found himself again in the highest place and obliged by his position to direct the beginnings of a young king, lacking in great political qualifications and the indispensable knowledge of Spain's needs and aspirations as well as being very unpopular on account of his foreign origin. To succeed in such a task a man of exceptional ability was required and Serrano's talents were but mediocre. Under the marshal's feeble hand, passions far from being calmed flared up much fiercer than ever and discord penetrated every element of official life.

Marshal Serrano and his colleagues having given in their resignations, Amadeo determined to try the experiment of a radical régime. But Señor Zorilla was incapable of rising above the violent and mean passions of the party to which he belonged. Amadeo was compelled to dismiss him in less than three months. Admiral Malcampo was invested with the power on October 6th; six weeks later he too was compelled to hand in his resignation.

Amadeo now confided the power to Señor Sagasta, December 20th, 1871. The situation, however, became more critical day by day. The king was absolutely isolated in the midst of his people. The educated and especially the aristocratic classes, justly wounded at seeing a foreign prince seated without any right whatever on the throne, held aloof from the court. The clergy could scarcely be expected to sympathise with a régime that exhibited decided Voltairian tendencies.

The people had never sanctioned the arbitrary choice and protested against the accomplished act sometimes by noisy demonstrations, more often by a still more dangerous attitude of cold and irreducible hostility. The republicans benefited largely by the situation. Amadeo was daily covered with mud and the ministry found it impossible to make the royal dignity and person respected. In order to quell so formidable a storm, the genius of a Napoleon I, the skill of a Cavour would have been required, and even then it is more than doubtful that with the prestige which genius gives and the resources which the most perfect art of governing men can provide, Amadeo would have settled his dynasty firmly in Spain. In truth the greatest fault found was with his foreign origin, and this intrinsic defect could not be overcome by personal merit.

How often, turning his thoughts towards his absent country, towards that city of Turin where he was the idol of its citizens, must Amadeo have regretted not having resisted more vigorously the demands of his father and the Italian ministers, as they prayed him to accept that crown of Spain for which he had so little vocation.

His tastes were simple and his habits modest — altogether too modest for Spain. He was affable, received everyone, and forced himself to appear as amiable with the common people as with the politicians and the few great nobles who had not deserted the court. He understood the low condition of the treasury and did not take a penny of the civil list which the constitution allowed him. He lived upon his own personal income, spending freely, and always tried to make use of Spanish articles and purveyors. The queen on her part zealously occupied herself with good works. Yet when Amadeo passed through the Madrid streets those who did not salute him were assuredly in greater number than those who through politeness took off their hats as he went by. The reception was no better in the provinces whenever the king and queen visited them.

And the situation kept on getting worse and worse. Señor Zorilla's downfall deeply incensed that statesman. In place of carrying on an honest opposition to Señor Sagasta, Zorilla, who had once promised Victor



[1872 A.D.]

Emmanuel to be "the most faithful of servants," hastened as soon as he was no longer minister to ally himself with the monarchy's worst enemies, made common cause with the most violent anarchists in order to undermine not only the cabinet, but the throne he had helped to establish. King Amadeo's position was becoming more and more critical. Placed between the republicans and Alfonsists, who fought him both in and out of parliament, and the Carlists who, less attached to constitutional forms and the manners of modern nations, openly declared war, raising the standard of war under the very eyes of his generals and officials, the king could not even count on the co-operation of his partisans, whose differences were now entirely incurable. Prime minister Sagasta was retired at the end of two months' sterile work and troubled existence. What could all this statesman's abilities do towards consolidating a monarchy deprived of a nation's support and condemned in public opinion?

The second Serrano ministry, of which Señor Sagasta was also a member, began its labours May 26th, 1872; but the king's hopes were again deceived.

Serrano and his colleagues, judging the situation too critical to be remedied by ordinary measures, submitted a decree for the king's approbation which arbitrarily suspended several privileges guaranteed by the constitution, at the same time inviting his majesty to take in person the chief command of the army against the Carlists. Amadeo returned an energetic refusal to Marshal Serrano's requests. It was asked that he take part in civil war, and he could not stoop to this exigency. Ready to shed his blood for Spain the day on which his adopted country should be threatened from abroad, it was absolutely repugnant to him to direct a campaign in which his subjects would simply cut one another's throats. If he had not



SAGASTA

abdicated before, it was only to let his people and the whole of Europe see that he knew how to face danger, and that he had no intention of shirking his duties the moment they became most serious and pressing — a noble line of conduct, which even those who never approved of Amadeo's taking the Spanish throne must highly and unreservedly praise.

Marshal Serrano was incensed by the king's attitude and sent in his resignation. The monarch now thought for a moment of throwing aside the crown, which weighed more heavily on his brow than the leaden capes on the shoulders of the damned in Dante's *Inferno*. But to avoid the appearance of fleeing before the Carlists, he decided to postpone the execution of his resolve. He resigned himself to trying one last experiment with the radicals, by calling the famous Zorilla once more to the head of affairs, June 13th, 1872.

[1833-1861]

Zorilla's return to power immediately increased the anarchy and violence of the sectarians. Some bent forth of virgidity, and impatient to attain their proposed end, they did but drink in courage. On July 18th, 1872, trouble occurred. At once was preparing to start a storm, a warning



Don Alvaro.

had been sent him that his life was to be attempted and that the police were on the track of a plot. In vain did the queen, his minister, and his household seek to explore him to disclose his craft. The king, scornful of their advice and taking no notice of the threatening danger, would not consent to stay in the palace. He wished his people to know that he feared not in the least to brave the assassins who were preparing an ambush in which he was to suffer the sad fate of Marital Pium. Maria Victoria and the marquis Diagonetti, in despair of convincing the king, determined to accompany him in his drive across the capital.

When the royal carriage reached the Calle del Arenal, at precisely the spot indicated by the police as the place where the attack would be attempted, a discharge of firearms suddenly came from a side street and wounded one of the horses without touching the king or queen, who owed their lives to their coachman's skill and courage. As for the assassins, they could make off under cover of the night, protected by their accomplices. Maria Victoria returned almost fainting to the royal palace. Alvaro, on the contrary, as a trophy of his successful hunt, let him be seen on the field of Castana,

never lost for a moment that impassable calm, without which of his contempt for danger and strength of soul. He himself announced the attempt to his father in the following telegram:

"I have the regret that this evening we have been tried where I think I shall not escape." Alvaro.

This matter is itself, far from involving the fall of the monarchy, retarded it. After this event it would appear that he was having been the corpse through fear of assassination. Meanwhile political affairs grew each day more serious. While the Carlist movement, in spite of the efforts of General Modera and the capturing of the Carlist capital, was still in force, and more disquieting projects, they had attained its apex, in a general political sphere, in the streets and in the hearts of the nation. The king was bound to make a triumph. It would no longer endure the day, when the discredited adventurer who were governing and running the country. The treasury was in the most pressing distress, and from all quarters a torrential tide of general discontent rose towards the throne on which an unscrupulous power was sitting. Zorilla, not content with the ruin which he had accomplished, tried to overcome the resistance of the army by a violent reaction as inequitable as unjust. He proposed to the king to entrust a man named

[1872-1873 A.D.]

Hidalgo who was a byword for treachery in the army with the command of a division in Catalonia. The king implored Zorilla to give this plan up. Zorilla threatened to resign. Finally Amadeo signed a decree as fatal as it was mad, not however without manifesting his anger and disgust. As soon as Hidalgo appeared, the artillery officers resigned *en masse*. The disorganisation of the army had become complete and put the finishing touches to the state of disorder; Zorilla prepared new decrees which, under pretext of mastering the military recalcitrants, would have provoked a general explosion. But this time Amadeo I did not show himself disposed to follow the wishes of the radical leader. He would not consent to accomplish Spain's ruin and determined to abdicate. In vain did Zorilla and his supporters make an effort to deter the king from a resolution which would shatter their ambitious calculations. Amadeo would not listen to their prayers. He obliged the prime minister to communicate the act of abdication to the cortes, February 8th, 1873.

Amadeo left Spain as soon as possible after his abdication, February 12th. He returned to Italy by way of Lisbon. Every noble heart, even among his enemies, gave impartial homage to his chivalric character and loyalty; but the aversion of the people to a foreign monarchy was such that the king's departure was one of the saddest ever known. While on the way near Badajoz some cowardly assassins fired upon the train which was bearing the son of Victor Emmanuel and his family back to the Italy they never should have left.

Time has softened the Spaniards' animosity against the duke of Aosta. To-day they recognise his fine qualities, while they admit, and not without reason, that even apart from his foreign origin he was not made to rule in that country, whose spirit he so little understood and whose pompous and aristocratic customs he never would have been able to assimilate.

The Spaniards have not forgotten the memory of this thoroughly honest king, who, wishing to remain true to his agreements, preferred giving up the throne to violating them, who firmly refused to become the tool of anarchists or to use force against a country which was not his own. They have also retained a touching memory of Queen Maria Victoria and of her piety and boundless charity. The attitude of the Spanish press on the duke of Aosta's death at Turin, January 18th, 1890, proved that his name was no longer unpopular across the Pyrenees; and in forgetting the mistake he committed in 1871, Spain knows how to give homage to the fine and brilliant qualities of her former king.<sup>o</sup>

#### REPUBLICAN SPAIN UNDER CASTELAR (1873 A.D.)

The congress declared at once in favour of a republic on February 11th, and on February 12th chose a ministry to take charge of the executive, in which Figueras was president and Castelar was foreign minister. The programme of the new rulers was: "a federative republic for Spain, with self-government for the single states as in Switzerland and the United States; suppression of centralisation; abolition of the standing army; absolute separation of church and state; proclamation of the rights of the individual on the basis of a democratic constitution and under the authority of the law." If these political fantasies were to be accepted into the constitution, Spain would cease to exist—there would be merely cantons, municipal republics, and communes, in which Parisian conditions repeated themselves. The

[1873-1874 A.D.]

cortes was dissolved, and on June 1st a new constitutional cortes convened. This declared for the federative republic on June 8th, and drew up a preliminary outline of a constitution in which the above principles were adopted. With this, the so-called *Intransigentes* were not yet satisfied; they wanted a red republic and a social revolution. Since they could not impose their demands on the cortes, they left it, went into the southern states, and raised the red flag of rebellion. Ministries and presidencies followed each other in quick succession.

On September 7th, Castelar was chosen president of the executive, and at the outset found himself confronted with such chaos that he demanded and



EMILIO CASTELAR

obtained unconditional authority for adopting military and political measures, including the declaration of a state of siege; he also postponed the debate on the constitution and adjourned congress from September 18th to January 2nd. Thus the visionary federative republican Castelar, understanding, however, the difference between theory and practice, had a full dictatorship in his hands. He needed such power. In the north, the Carlists were making decided advances, having with them in the field the pretender Don Carlos and his brother Don Alfonso; in the south, communes were being formed in single cities which renounced allegiance to the government; in the army shameless insubordination ran riot, soldiers fired on their officers, generals went over to the rebels. The cities of

Alcoy, Seville, Cadiz, Valencia had to be taken by force, others surrendered at the approach of the generals.

Opposition lasted longest in the sea fortress of Cartagena, where General Contreras stood at the head of a committee of safety, as president of the republic of Murcia, had diplomatic dealings with foreign consuls, and bombarded and burned the neighbouring ports Almeria and Alicante. From these piratical excursions he came into contact with foreign warships, and the energetic German captain Werner, supported by an English captain, deprived him of two ships. Cartagena was surrounded from the land side and bombarded, but it did not surrender until after a siege of four months, on January 12th, 1874, to the governmental general Lopez Dominguez, after Contreras had left the harbour the day before, accompanied by the revolutionary junta, and after several hundred men had broken through the weak blockade of governmental ships and escaped to Algiers.<sup>e</sup>

#### THE BASQUES AND CARLISM

Carlism would long since have been reduced to impotency by the opposition it aroused among all classes of Spanish society, if one particular circumstance had not associated with its cause those interests and passions which

taken under its protection. There are provinces in northeastern Spain which are Spanish only in name and which enjoy a veritable autonomy; they are both jealous and proud. Furnishing the state neither soldiers nor money, they themselves regulate the use they make of their revenue, the equipment and employment of their militia—in fact all the details of local administration. Honest, loyal, hardy, maintaining their roads and ways in their own fashion, which indeed left nothing to be desired; inhabiting the least accessible of their mountains up to the very edges of the Pyrenees, more industrious than the majority of the Spanish, the Basques of Vizcaya, Avala, and Biscay, had governed themselves for centuries, and constituted a true mountain republic very similar to the primitive cantons of Switzerland. Who has not heard of the famous and everlasting oak of Leizor, under whose shade they held their patriarchal assemblies or cortes and which in bygone days inspired Rousseau in the *Contrat Social* to these memorable and oft-quoted words: "When we see the happiest people in the world regulating their affairs of state by a body of peasants gathered under an oak, and always conducting themselves wisely, what is to prevent us from rejecting the refinements of other nations which make themselves famous and miserable with so much art and mystery?"

Like all truly republican peoples the Basques regarded their freedom as a privilege or a happy accident. They gave no thought to letting their country share it and had never sought to make their happiness a subject of complaint. Their language—the Eskuara—which has nothing in common with Spanish or indeed with any known idiom, was a barrier between them and the rest of the peninsula, and reduced them to a state of isolation in which their freedom rejoiced. As their language possesses no literature, the general ideas which circulate in their villages and townships come from the priests, who teach them what goes on in the world, what is said and done at Madrid. Thus, narrow in mind as they are suspicious and defiant, their sole aim is to preserve their *fueros*.

It had been easy to make them understand that the liberal monarchy intended the dark design of depriving them of these, and that it was destined to reduce them to the same system of government as the other Spanish provinces. And it was not more difficult for the pretender to persuade them that only an absolute monarchy could guarantee the franchises which were dearer to them than life. Did they not know that their liberty was a privilege, and that privileges have less to fear from a king who can do as he pleases than from a constitutional régime, whether monarchy or republic, in which everything is governed by law?

But, with the exception of the village of Leizor, won over to liberal ideas, the Basque mountaineers belong body and soul to the Carlist cause, and thus we have seen the singular phenomenon of a republican people trying to impose upon others a government they would not have had at any price, and working to set upon the Spanish throne an absolute king who promised to let them remain a republic as a reward. "We hope that before long," wrote General Castelar on the 12th of September, 1873, "these Basque provinces will furnish subsidies and spies to the Carlist and where the army of the republic can nowhere find either protection or assistance, will receive chastisement for their errors deserve, since these the happiest and freest provinces of Spain are fighting not to obtain a king for themselves or to offer the fruits of their sons and the fruits of their economy, but to impose one upon the Spanish nation while continuing to live themselves as a republic. Certainly the government will respect a legislation which is in harmony with its



[1873-1874 A.D.]

principles and ideas, but I am its spokesman in saying to these people that if anything threatens their future and that tree celebrated by Rousseau as the monument of liberty, it will be due to their blind obstinacy in supporting at the price of their blood, as the Swiss did formerly, the monster of absolutism."

It was among these sandalled republicans in hides and blue berets, indefatigable walkers and great players of *peloto*, that Carlism recruited its ranks as well as in Navarre and a part of Catalonia. The mountain regions in general were in the hands of the clergy and the pretender. They furnished them brave, sober, robust soldiers, nimble as smugglers, knowing all the secret passes and defiles, skilful at making off after a defeat and dispersing so as to rally elsewhere, possessing in fact all the necessary qualities for this species of tricky and partisan war in which Spain has always excelled. The country also lent itself to it. It was rugged and cut up, well fitted for ambuscades and surprises — full of difficulties for the invader who could not operate in detachments without exposing himself, nor in masses without being uneasy without sustenance.

However, if Carlism had preserved its troops, it was weakened by the loss of some of its most noteworthy chiefs. The spirit of the times is a subtle and penetrating gas, and the élite of the party was unable to resist its malign influence. One of the heroes of the seven years' war — the illustrious general Cabrera, whose name alone was worth an army to the pretender — had found the latter deaf to his advice and was compelled to refuse him his services.

Among Don Carlos' faithful adherents there were men of heart and intelligence who grumbled under their breath at his mistakes. As for the pretender himself, he was no longer master of his actions. The church was the mouthpiece of his will and it announced to Spain that if Don Carlos wished to mount the throne it was to give the people back their God — him of former days, whose glance rested with delight on the *sanbenito* of a scourged and repentant heretic. They did not take the trouble to conceal from the Spaniards the designs they had upon them. When certain persons spoke to France, they had recourse to the precautions of the oratory, to the subtleties taught by casuistry, to reticences and equivocation, to denials which did not deny, and to promises which did not promise anything. If they did the country of Voltaire and Mirabeau the honour of lying to her, they inflicted on Spain the affront of their outrageous sincerity. They openly declared to her that they intended to bring back the Golden Age when the monk reigned and sent free-thinkers to peaceful sleep. The struggle which was now steeping the Pyrenees and the Cantabrian mountains in blood was a war to the death waged upon the *bourgeoisie* by fanatical priests, of shepherds upon their lambs; it was the white demagoguery, which despairing of triumph had not scrupled to league itself with the pirates of Cartagena for the extermination of liberal ideas."

#### THE DICTATORSHIP OF SERRANO

Castelar's former party associates, who had forgotten nothing and learned nothing, could not forgive him for having brought the federative republicans to order with powder and shot; for having appointed conservative generals, and entered into negotiations with the papal see in regard to vacant bishoprics. When the cortes re-assembled on January 2nd, 1874, its president, Salmeron, brought about a vote of lack of confidence in Castelar's government, whereupon the latter promptly resigned.



no further action could be taken the cortes was dispersed by Pavía, captain-general of Madrid, on January 3rd,<sup>1</sup> and a military dictatorship was established under Marshal Serrano. Republican revolts which broke out in various cities were quickly suppressed and a large force was sent against the Carlists. The latter kept the important fortress Bilbao closely invested, had Portugalete, the port belonging to it, had forced Moriones first to go on a ship, and on February 24th, 1874, when he again advanced west, had driven him to retreat, after being defeated at Somorrostro.

Serrano, entitled "president of the executive power of the republic," now returned to the scene of action, but in the battles of March 25th and 26th he did not succeed in breaking

the firm position of the Carlists at Somorrostro. He pro-

vided reinforcements, however,

and the attack on April 28th,

repelled the enemy on May

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at on November 10th from Laserna, but he himself on December 9th

he advancing general Loma to retreat to San Sebastian. Hereupon

again hastened to the scene with the purpose of making a general

on the enemy, at the head of four army corps, and forcing it back to

rich frontier. He needed time, however, to get the necessary number

together.

On the head of the Madrid garrison, the captain-general of the capital turned the members

into the streets, dismissed the government, including the war minister, and dissolved

it. He then professedly surprised his fellow countrymen by declining to use his dicta-

to stepping at once to power. For the first time in Spain, the victorious leader of a *pro-*

visional government declined. Canovas del Castillo, the chief agent of the Alfonsist propa-

ganda, began to see that events were playing into his hands. Marshal Serrano,

captain-general of Madrid, succeeded to form a nameless provisional government, which attempted

to suppress the revolts in Spain, first crushing the republican risings in the south, and then

attacking the Carlists in northern and central Spain.<sup>2</sup>



MARSHAL SERRANO

[1871-1873]

Serrano had one position, that of a generalissimo, which he used in his intervention in the war. But he had also, in 1869, been elected as the President of the Cortes. He was a man of high character, and as a correspondent of the Cortes, he had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him.



DON CARLOS, KING OF THE TWO SICILIES.

The King, however, was not in the habit of replying to him. He was a man of high character, and as a correspondent of the Cortes, he had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him.

All the powers of the Cortes decided to recognize the Spanish government and sent ambassadors to Madrid. The German ambassador was a man of high character, and as a correspondent of the Cortes, he had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him.

of war. But Serrano's small military success against the Carlists brought about a new turn in affairs at the end of the year 1871.

#### THE DOMINION OF DON CARLOS, KING OF THE TWO SICILIES.

General Martínez Campos, a man of high character, was an adherent of the government. He was in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him. He had been in the habit of writing to the King, who had been in the habit of replying to him.

The inexperienced king was in a difficult position. The war was almost empty; the war with the Carlists continued, and brought few results; the close relations of the king to his grandfather, Pope Pius, demanded especial consideration; the papal curia required that the

[1875-1883 A.D.]

extensive concessions in return for his supporting the king; he wanted to bring back the old intolerance and priesthood, and if possible to return to the Inquisition; the ex-queen Isabella, who had lost all title to respect, impatiently awaited her return to Madrid. In every direction, nothing could be seen but dangerous reefs which confronted the government.<sup>e</sup>

That Canovas del Castillo should undertake the leadership of the new government was quite as much a matter of course as that the first and most imperative duty of the government should be to overthrow the Carlist rebellion. At first, it was put down in Catalonia and Aragon where its chief seat, Seo de Urgel, fell on August 26th, 1875. Thereupon all forces were directed towards the north against the Basque territories, the old citadel of Carlism. The closely besieged Pamplona was relieved on November 24th, and, when Quesada advanced with one hundred thousand men, Estella also fell on February 19th, 1876. On February 28th, the king himself entered Pamplona; on the same day Don Carlos retreated over the border to France. The victors conducted themselves humanely on the whole, although ten thousand persons were exiled, as many more lost their property, and a limitation of the old *fueros* of the Basque lands was planned. It was not until 1878, however, that Martinez Campos succeeded in quelling the rebellion in Cuba after important economical concessions, when the rights of a Spanish province were granted to the Cubans. [For fuller details see the history of Spanish America in a later volume.]

In the meanwhile on May 24th the newly elected cortes, which the king had opened on February 15th, 1876, had adopted the new constitution (proclaimed June 30th). This provided for a senate and house of representatives controlled by general and direct election, established freedom of the press, of religion, and of unions, but abolished trial by jury, civil marriage, and freedom of teaching, in order to win over the radicals and the clergy. Rome at first protested against the freedom of religion but gave up this point, as the Protestants were actually so limited and oppressed in the exercise of their rights that all the firm fervour of belief of men like Pastor Fliedner in Madrid was needed to endure it all and actually to establish an evangelical church in the Spanish capital where now Luther's hymn of victory, "A firm foundation is our God," resounds also in Spanish ("*Castillo fier es nuestro Dios!*").

The republican attempts on the king's life on October 25th, 1878, and December 30th, 1879, were only after-effects of the long period of unrest; on the whole the pacification of the country made unmistakable progress. The government exercised the utmost watchfulness against Carlist plots and even effected a papal prohibition against Spanish bishops. The opposition of Catalan manufacturers to the commercial treaty with France was summarily suppressed by the proclamation of a state of siege; a republican revolt on the part of the soldiers in Badajoz on August 5th, 1883, was energetically put down and severely punished by the king, who, wholly on his own responsibility, attempted to put a stop to the old mischief of having officers take part in political party intrigues and boldly ordered the dismissal of a large number of unsubmissive and irresponsible elements. The social democratic associations of the *mano negra* (the black hand) seemed very dangerous for a time. These were favoured by the severe economical decay of the last years, and grew rapidly until, divided into about three thousand groups and controlled by a central organisation at Xeres, they covered the country like a net. Since they distinguished themselves by deeds of violence of all kind, the government at last took decisive measures, overpowered their ringleaders and caused seven of them to be executed.

## ALFONSO XII AND THE EUROPEAN POWER

Several years passed thus before the king could venture to enter into any personal relations with the most powerful foreign rulers. Not until September, 1883, did he proceed to Austria and Germany, accompanied by



ALFONSO XII

several of his ministers, when, on the occasion of the grand marriage festival at Frankfurt on the Main, Emperor William gave him the honorary command of the 1st Regiment of Ulanes. Alfonso XII visited this regiment in its quarters at Strasburg, on his return journey to France, and for this reason, on his entry into Paris, on September 20th, the characteristic indignation of him as the ruler who had insulted the laws of hospitality with host and heads. The foreign knight-patrons repaid their treatment by spending 10,000 francs for the poor of Paris. Emperor William, in order to show his warm sympathy for the king, sent the most welcome to Spain. The latter set sail with a German fleet and landed in Valencia November 22nd after a stormy passage. Although the Spaniards were at first cool and reserved, after a few weeks spent in Madrid and the most important cities of the north, the prince completely won them over by his imposing and kindly personality, and by the regard

shown to the king in such demonstrative fashion contributed his share towards firmly establishing the Spanish throne. The friendly relations thus introduced did not indeed hinder the outbreak of popular hatred against Germany in 1886 in connection with the dispute over the Caroline; only the statesmanlike firmness of the king and the moderation of Germany hindered serious troubles and assured the continuance of the Bourbon throne which had only just been reestablished.

But the days of the young monarch were already numbered. November 25th, 1885, he died of consumption in the Pardo palace. He left two daughters by his second marriage with the archduchess Maria Christina of Austria (November 29th, 1879), Mercedes and Maria Theresa; not until several months after his death, on May 17th, 1886, was the heir to the throne, Alfonso XIII, born. He was proclaimed king on the same day, under the regency of his mother. The latter recalled to the mind of the Spanish that other queen of German blood, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick, the wife of Charles VI.

## THE REGENCY OF MARIA CHRISTINA 1886-1902, A.D.

The widow of Alfonso XII quietly assumed that there was no debate as to her right to be regent of Spain, which found itself facing an addition to its astonishingly long list of minorities. And the new minor was not yet born. The situation was serious. The latent policy of the salubrious had not been popular in its reaction from liberalism, and even Cánovas del Castillo

and the queen-regent to begin her administration by concessions. He recommended his ancient rival Sagasta, who was called to the Pardo, and by whom since called after the place, agreed to use his influence to uphold the policy while frankly stating his intention to make gradual reforms in the direction of restoring the constitutional liberties of 1868.

Paris Ruiz Zorilla was agitating for a revolution and restoration of the republic, while the Carlists were trying to stir Don Carlos to leave his home in Venice and invade Spain. The pope, however, felt that the interests of the church would be better subserved by peace, especially as he saw Maria Christina an ardent and generous Catholic, who encouraged suits to unsurpassed power over education. But Sagasta's influence in the country from any entanglements in European alliances, re-established the jury, which Alfonso XII had abolished, and universal suffrage which he had vetoed; enlarged the liberties of speech and press, and modified the tariff beneficially. A few military conspiracies were frustrated and punished. A strong aid to Sagasta was Emilio Castelar, who saw the gradual return of his republican ideals.

By 1890, Maria Christina, who was even more dictatorial than her husband, asked his resignation and called in Canovas, whose conservative high-tariff policy brought about a diminution of foreign trade.

Canovas' chief trouble came from his own party. After a half year, he resigned and again advised the calling of a king, who sent an expedition of twenty-five thousand soldiers to Morocco and the sultan to pay an indemnity of £800,000 for attacks on Spanish outposts at Melilla and Cece. He was not so happy in the Cuban question.

Spain had long been rather the prey of the mother-land than a colony, and the people for relief by the few friends in Madrid had received practically no attention. The growth of the sentiment of revolt, the failure of the older policies of men like Canovas, and the equal failure of the mediævally relentless policy of General Weyler, whose name of "butcher," are found in the later volume devoted to Spanish America.

It must suffice here to say that Canovas was assassinated by an anarchist, August 9th, 1897, while pressing a bill for more home rule in Cuba. He was succeeded by the former war minister Práxedes Azcarraga.

Meanwhile the people of the United States had been so deeply stirred by decades of torture inflicted on their island neighbours in Cuba that General Weyler was recalled through pressure brought to bear by American



MARIA CHRISTINA

[1897-1898 A.D.]

diplomacy. The conservative cabinet gave way to Sagasta, Marshal Blanco replaced Weyler and tried a gentler policy. But the ruination of Cuba could not be checked by any mild and negative treatment. The people of the United States had been wrought to a pitch of horror by the tales of the starvation of Cuban men, women, and children by the thousand, and when the United States cruiser *Maine*, while visiting the port of Havana, was blown up with great loss of life, it needed only the declaration of a commission of inquiry that she had been sunk by a submarine mine, to bring the United States to demand the evacuation of Cuba by Spain. There was no implication that the destruction of the *Maine* had official sanction, but it was given as a final proof of the intolerable state of affairs in Cuba.

The demand was naturally more than Spanish pride would bear and the American minister was given his passports. The European powers refused to intervene, though the press was almost unanimously for Spain, except in



ANTONIO CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO

England. It was notorious that Spanish resources were hopelessly inadequate to a protracted war with the infinite riches of the United States, but the American navy was small and according to European experts decidedly inferior in discipline, morale, and efficiency to the Spanish navy. This theory was exploded by the swift and utter destruction of two Spanish fleets, that of Admiral Montojo by Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay, May 1st, 1898, and that of Admiral Cervera by the fleet under Admiral Sampson in Santiago de Cuba, July 3rd. Land-forces in Cuba, the Philippines, and Porto Rico won those islands with comparatively little struggle, as is described in the second volume of our history of the United States.

Late in July, Spanish pride saw nothing left but surrender of practically all her colonies. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris, December 12th, 1898, after a protocol had put an end to hostilities for some months. The Caroline Islands which remained to Spain in the Pacific, and over

which there had almost been a war with Germany in 1885, were sold to Germany in 1899 for £800,000; and in 1900 the United States bought two small islands that had been overlooked in the earlier treaty, paying £20,000 for them.

Spain came out of the war in a sad financial state. Besides the practical annihilation of her navy and the great loss of her army's prestige, her national debt of £259,116,500 had been increased by £60,000,000 for war expenses (borrowed at very high interest); and the United States had forced her to assume the Cuban and Philippine debts of £46,210,000. The mountain of debt with which she was confronted amounted therefore to £365,326,500.

The liberals, who had been compelled to take the government at the outbreak of war, had faced inevitable defeat, but there were so many details of maladministration, of neglect and ignorance in war preparations that the

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[1898-1907 A.D.]

blame of the disaster fell on them as if they had been its origin. Sagasta gave way to the conservative Silvela. He feared to support the radical measures which Villaverde, the minister of finance, felt necessary for the reduction of expense and the increase of revenue, and which provoked violent and organised resistance from tax-payers. Villaverde in consequence was sacrificed, though he had attacked his problem with sanity and courage. The resistance of the National Tax-payers' Union did not cease, however, and Silvela was driven to rigorous measures of repression.

In spite of the severe up-hill struggle that is before Spain, it is everywhere believed that the loss of her colonies is the greatest blessing that could have befallen her. So great a drain were they upon the industries, the morals, and the population of the home-country, and so corrupt had their administration become that their removal resembled the amputation of a limb given over to gangrene. Already signs of healthier conditions are numerous, and the prospect of good results from the new attention paid to the great natural resources of the peninsula is very promising.

In 1902 the regency of Maria Christina came to an end; her son was declared of age and crowned as Alfonso XIII. The personality of the young king has rendered him very popular, both at home and abroad. In 1905 he paid a visit to England, where he was received with enthusiasm. On May 31st, 1906, the king's marriage with Princess Ena of Battenberg, henceforth to be known as Queen Victoria Eugénie, was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. The festivities were unfortunately marred by an attempt on the lives of the royal couple, made by a fanatical anarchist named Morral, a native of Barcelona. This man threw a bomb which wrecked the royal carriage, but happily failed to injure the king or queen. The would-be assassin was captured a few days later. He committed suicide while awaiting trial. This atrocious assault had apparently no deep-seated political significance; it merely furnishes another instance of the dangers to which men in high positions are everywhere subjected. Nevertheless it is perhaps worthy of note that the man who made the fanatical attempt on the king's life came from Barcelona, a city that has since been the site of ecclesiastical disturbances. Moreover, it is never possible to say precisely what association there may be between such acts of fanaticism and a general condition of political unrest. That such a condition of unrest prevails in Spain is shown by the fact that the ministry was twice changed in the course of the year 1906; and that yet another cabinet was formed under Signor Maura early in 1907. The Liberal party are engaged in a dispute with the Vatican, and, as so often in the past, ecclesiastical matters refuse to be separated from Spanish politics.

On May 10th, 1907, a son was born to the royal couple. In its issue of May 11th *The Times* comments on the event as follows: "The rejoicings of Spain over the birth of an heir to the Spanish throne will be echoed by every friendly nation, and by none will the good news be received with more genuine pleasure than by the people of this country. They can never forget that the mother of the little prince is a princess of our own Royal House, while King Alfonso's popularity as a royal visitor to our shores is second to none. His Majesty and his youthful consort have made themselves secure in the loyalty of their people, and the stability of the dynasty and the future of Spain itself will be henceforth still more firmly assured." The heir-apparent, who bears the hereditary title of Prince of Asturias, was christened Alfonso."

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## BOOK II

# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY HISTORY TO JOÃO I

[TO 1383 A.D.]

#### LAND AND PEOPLE

THE reasons for which Portugal is neglected are precisely those which in some eyes make her truly lovable. For a half-century art has done almost nothing for the natural river highways ; and the Douro, the Guadiana, and the Tagus flow through this kingdom like the wandering rivulets of great English parks. The large towns of the interior, Coimbra, Santarem, Evora, and Miranda, look like pretty kiosks rising about flowering thickets ; peaceful retreats, solitudes animated with a life that jogs quietly along and does not go with leaps and bounds as in France, where a satisfied humanity stands still, instead of rushing into the unknown risks of the future.

The cities of the coast, Lisbon, Oporto, appear more like dwelling-places conveniently placed the better to enjoy the sunlight and the ocean breezes than wide-awake communities guarding their mercantile interests in the commercial exchange of the products of the Old World with the riches of the New.

If the Portuguese had been as skilful speculators as they were intrepid sailors and distinguished warriors, Henry the Navigator, who set the example of maritime conquest, Dias, Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Albuquerque, valiant captains identified with all the glories of the Aviz dynasty, would have imitated the speculative prudence of the Dutch, their rivals. And if, when the illustrious house of Braganza opened the era of national liberties, the people had had in their heads less of poetic imagination and more power of reason ; if, courageous and adventurous as they were, they had shown themselves more positive, the French, at first, and then the English, would never have invaded their treasury, exploited their soil, and paralysed their industries. Truly a childlike nation, satisfied with little, pursuing the ideal, economical without avarice, pure in morals, sober, generous, hospitable, the Portuguese have bred heroes in place of diplomats, poets in place of capitalists : they knew how bravely to defend their country against the Romans, the Arabs, and the Spaniards, and still more recently against the army of Napoleon.

They have kept themselves a free nation, independent and original, possessing a language, a literature, distinct manners and customs, and governed politically by one of the most liberal constitutions of Europe.

To make Portugal complete, Brazil and the colonies were necessary to this country whose language is spoken on the European continent by only five millions of men; and again the narrow domain which so restricts the use of this tongue creates an obstacle to the popularity of the works to which language gives birth, just as its poverty impedes the development of the fine arts. Jealousy and indifference, the double affliction of southern nations, have curbed the artistic and literary aspirations of the Portuguese. What man of genius would resolve on a career of self-denial only to be calumniated and persecuted as was Prince Henry, to achieve a miserable end like Admiral Pacheo, or like Camoens; or to languish forgotten, like the painter Glama, reduced to making tavern signs; like the sculptor Machado de Castro and the founder Costa, creators of an equestrian statue of José I, worthy of ranking with the greatest art works of the eighteenth century? Encouragement and recompense are the safeguards of emulation, and emulation, utilising the moral resources of a people, permits them the use of its advantages to rise to the level of other nations.

Except for a few coins, the Phœnicians, the Phocæans, and the Carthaginians have left almost no trace in Portugal of their occupation or their passing; but the touch of Rome clings better than in Spain. Cæsar's Pax Julia sleeps thirty feet beneath the city of Beja and needs only the simple power of will to be awakened, with its population of statues, its inscriptions, and its frescoes; Liberalitas Julia, the Ebora of Ptolemy, planted like Beja upon high ground in the province of Alemtejo, has a double character, that of a Grecian town with its temple of Diana and that of a Roman city with its great aqueduct, immense works, wrought under the hand of Quintus Sertorius, who made himself master eighty years before the Christian era. The aristocracy of Pax Julia and Liberalitas Julia was accustomed to spend its summers in the little municipality of Alcacer, where there was a famous bath under the protection of a local divinity, the nymph Salacia. Braganza, the Juliobriga; Lisbon, the Felicitas Julia of the Augustan era, had equally received their political baptism from the conqueror of Gaul; while ancient Lusitania, become a Julian or Cæsarian country, easily adapted the popular customs and organisations of the Roman government to its Carthaginian institutions.

Vespasian and Trajan made an important town of Chaves; Viseu is the Vesontium of the consul D. Brutus; Lamego, the Urbs Lamacœnorum of Trajan. Setubal occupies a terrace opposite the ancient Roman colony of Cetobriga. At Braga, Ponte de Lima, Salvaterra, we find traces of amphitheatres, aqueducts, baths, and temples; so that well-directed excavations would evoke the manes of that sovereign people which, governing the universe, kept watchful station on the coast of Hispania to keep an eye on Numidia.

From the seventh century to the capture of Lisbon in 1147 Moorish architecture had its compromising effect on the elegant majesty of the great lines and arches of the Saracens' predecessors; the baths of Cintra, the wall and seventy-seven towers of Lisbon, the fortifications and palaces of Evora, and many mosques since transformed into churches, signified, towards the close of the twelfth century, the degree of Islam's foothold on Portuguese soil—an unsteady tenure, without consistence, without depth, bearing witness to the rapidity of conquest as well as to the fear of ephemeral posses-



[TO 1170 A.D.]

sion. Little by little, in place of the mosques, arose churches, veritable apostolic citadels, headquarters for the war against the infidel. Formless and rude at first, they developed as the Christian armies won back the land; but when the native peoples effected their definite triumph they were obliged to call in foreign artists, more skilful than themselves in the interpretation of the architectural vernacular.

The Portuguese knew how to fight bravely and to sing their triumphs, but they did not know how to build; and for this reason the monastery of Alcobaça, founded in fulfilment of a vow by Alfonso I, king of Portugal, in 1170, is an Anglo-Saxon church, built by workmen from England. A new architectural epoch dates from the fifteenth century, and its character has been best perpetuated in the abbey of Batalha. Of its kind, this is one of the most beautiful edifices in existence; and assuredly it is the most majestic and the most pure in form that Portugal possesses. It was built in the reign of João I (1385-1433) who brought from England a celebrated sculptor named Stephenson. Many German, English, and Norman artists summoned by the monarch came to aid him. João himself and his queen Philippa, granddaughter of Edward III of England, supervised the work. And that nothing might be lacking to the poetic magnificence and graceful details of the building, another queen, the pious Leonora, and two monarchs—João II, the poet king, and after him, Emmanuel—followed the continuance of the work with intelligent interest. Nothing in the whole peninsula rivals in magnificence the façade of the monastery, nor in boldness of design its chapter hall.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE ORIGIN OF PORTUGAL

It has been stated that geographically the kingdom of Portugal is an integral part of the Iberian peninsula; the only reason why it has retained its independence, while the other mediæval states of that peninsula have merged into the kingdom of Spain, is to be found in its history. When Philip II of Spain annexed Portugal it was a century too late for it to coalesce with Spain. It had then produced Vasco da Gama and Alfonso de Albuquerque, and its language had been developed from a Romance dialect into a literary language by Camoens and Sá de Miranda. Conscious of its national history, it broke away again from Spain in 1640, and under the close alliance of England maintained its separate and national existence during the eighteenth century. A union with Spain might have been possible, however, during the first half of the present century had not a generation of historians and poets arisen who, by recalling the great days of the Portuguese monarchy, have made it impossible for Portugal ever again to lose the consciousness of her national existence.

The history of Portugal really begins with the gift of the fief of the Terra Portucalensis or the county of Porto Cale to Count Henry of Burgundy in 1094; for any attempt to identify the kingdom of Portugal and the Portuguese people with Lusitania and the Lusitanians is utterly without foundation. With the rest of the Iberian peninsula, Portugal was colonised by the Phœnicians and conquered by the Carthaginians; and the Roman province of Lusitania, whether according to the division of Iberia into three provinces under Augustus or into five under Hadrian, in no way coincided with the historical limits of the kingdom of Portugal. In common with the rest of the peninsula, it was overrun by the Vandals, Alans, and Visigoths, and eventually conquered by the Arabs in the eighth century. It was not

until the fifteenth century that an attempt was made by Garcia de Menezes to identify Lusitania with Portugal. Under the influence of the Renaissance, Bernardo de Brito insisted on the identity, and claimed Viriathus as a Portuguese hero. Other writers of the same epoch delighted in calling Portugal by the classical name of "Lusitania," and Camoens, by the very title of his great epic, *Os Lusíadas*, has immortalised the appellation.

For two centuries Portugal remained subject to the Omayyad caliphs, and under their wise rule the old Roman *coloniæ* and *municipia*, such as Lisbon, Lamego, Viseu, and Oporto, maintained their Roman self-government and increased in wealth and importance. Towards the close of the tenth century, as the Omayyad caliphate grew weaker, the Christian princes of Visigothic descent who dwelt in the mountains of the Asturias began to grow more audacious in their attacks on the declining power, and in 997 Bermudo II, king of Galicia, won back the first portion of modern Portugal from the Mohammedans by seizing Oporto and occupying the province now known as Entre-Minho-e-Douro. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Omayyad caliphate finally broke up, and independent emirs established themselves in every large city, against whom the Christian princes waged incessant and successful war.<sup>c</sup>

In 1027 Alfonso V of Leon fell before Viseu, the siege of which was in consequence abandoned; but in 1057, both it and Lamego were recovered by his son-in-law, Ferdinand I; and the following year Coimbra shared the same fate. In 1093, Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra were reduced by Alfonso VI, the famous conqueror of Toledo, whose arms were generally so successful against the misbelievers.<sup>1</sup> As these conquests were continually exposed to the irruptions of the Almoravids, in 1095 that monarch conferred the government of Portugal from the Minho to the Tagus, and the right of conquering as far as the Guadiana, on Henry of Besançon or Burgundy, who in 1072 had married his illegitimate daughter Theresa, and to whose arms he had been so much indebted for many of his recent successes.<sup>2</sup>

The nature of the authority conferred on the new count has been a matter of much controversy between the Castilian and Portuguese writers. While the latter maintain that the concession of Alfonso was full and entire,—a surrender of all feudal claims over the country, which the count was to govern in full sovereignty,—the former no less zealously contend that the government was to be held as a fief, hereditary indeed, but no less dependent on the crown of Leon. In the absence of documentary evidence, probability only can guide us. It is unreasonable to suppose either that the king was willing, or, if willing, that his nobles would allow him to dismember at once and forever so fair a territory from his crown, and that too in favour of a stranger and an illegitimate daughter—for illegitimate she was, notwithstanding the allegations to the contrary by some Portuguese writers, who seldom regard truth if unpalatable to their national vanity. That Portugal was conferred as a dependent fief is also confirmed by the disputes between its early sovereigns and those of Leon—the former striving to maintain their avowed independence, the latter to reduce them to their reputed original vassalage. Alfonso died in 1109.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Chronicon Lusitanum*,<sup>d</sup> the *Chronicon Complutense*,<sup>e</sup> and other authorities, Lisbon and Cintra were taken by Alfonso. They must, however, have been soon recovered by the Moors.

<sup>2</sup> That Henry, whose extraction has given rise to much disputation, was of the family of the first duke of Burgundy, and of the royal blood of France, is indisputable from a MS. discovered in the monastery of Fleury, according to La Clède.<sup>f</sup>

-1139 A.D.]

The administration of Henry was vigorous, and his military conduct ious. His triumphs over the Mohammedans were frequent, whether eved in concert with his father-in-law, Alfonso, or by his own unaided . Nor were his efforts to crush rebellion, whether of his local Christian ernors or of his Mohammedan vassals, less successful. One of his last was to assist his natural sovereign, Urraca, daughter of Alfonso, against husband the king of Aragon. He died in 1112, leaving many ecclesi- structures enriched by his liberality. Braga, Oporto, Coimbra, ego, and Viseu were the places most indebted to his piety. Unfortun- ly for his memory, many of the great deeds recorded of him by his ial people rest on authority too disputable to be received. Probably e of them have been confounded with those of his more famous son.

During the minority of Alfonso [or Affonso], the son of Henry, who, at father's death, was only in his second year, the administration of kingdom was assumed by the widowed Theresa. The character of this cess is represented as little superior to that of her sister Urraca: the e violence, the same unbridled passions, and the same unnatural jealousy er son appear, though in a degree undoubtedly less criminal, to have nguished her conduct. Yet on that sister and her nephew, the suc- or of Urraca, she sometimes made war, in the hope of profiting by the nsions of the period; on every occasion she was repulsed, and was ed to sue for peace. Her intimacy with Dom Ferdinand Peres, m she is supposed to have secretly married, and through whom all urs were to be solicited, roused the jealousy of the courtiers. By their uasion Alfonso, whom she had rigorously endeavoured to exclude from participation in public affairs, undertook to wrest the sovereignty her hands. He had little difficulty in collecting troops; for no sooner ne erect the standard of resistance, than the discontented nobles flocked d it. His preparations reached the ears of his mother, who wrathfully ed to defend her authority. The two armies met near the fortress of narães, where the princess was utterly routed, and forced to seek refuge e castle of Leganoso. There she was speedily invested, and compelled rrender the reins of government into the hands of her son, while her urite or husband fled into Galicia. She survived her fall about two s.<sup>1</sup>

The new count was destined to prove a more formidable enemy to the ammedans than even his able father. During the first years of his inistration, he was at variance with his cousin, Alfonso VII or VIII, se Galician territories he invaded, and with whose enemy, the king of erre, he entered into alliance.<sup>2</sup>

When Alfonso Henriques was no longer checked by the enmity of his stian neighbours, he prosecuted his enterprises against the Moors with vigour that he soon extended his sway nearly to the Tagus; and, by error of his progress, obliged Ali to send from Africa a powerful army, pport the walis, next threatened against him. A battle ensued, esteemed most memorable in Portuguese annals, but which has been so disfigured ational vanity or ignorance that the facts relating to it are not easily rtainable. The numbers of the Mohammedans are rated at three hun- thousand, and even at six hundred thousand men; and this host is said ave been commanded by five kings. Since the establishment of the

Lemos<sup>3</sup> endeavours to vindicate the character of Theresa from the charges imputed to her: ame vain effort, as the reader will remember, has been made by the Castilian writers in r of Urraca.

Almoravid domination, there were no Moorish kings left in Spain; but the name was erroneously given to the walis who led the troops of their respective provinces. What does seem certain respecting the battle in question is that the Mussulman forces were incomparably superior to the Portuguese; that, dreading an invasion, which, even if ultimately foiled, must still bring inevitable ruin upon his territories, the count boldly crossed the Tagus, and advanced to the plain of Ourique [or Orik], where he entrenched himself strongly, and awaited the attack; that the Moors repeatedly assaulted his fortifications and were as often repulsed, until at last, from weariness and mortification, they fell into some disorder; and that Alfonso Henriques, seizing the critical moment, burst out upon them from behind his lines, and completed their discomfiture. Upon the field of victory the army were said to have hailed their count king of Portugal; and this glorious day, the 25th of July, 1139, is considered the epoch of the foundation of the monarchy. The five walis of Badajoz, Beja, Elvas, Evora, and Lisbon were found amongst the dead, and honoured with the royal title. The conqueror assumed, as the arms of Portugal, their five shields, arranged in what he called a cross, though the figure they present more resembles that of a cinque upon dice; and accordingly the Portuguese arms are termed *As Quinas*, the Cinques.

Alfonso's military election was said to have been subsequently confirmed by the cortes of Lamego, with a solemnity well deserving attention, as perhaps the only instance on record of a formal compact between prince and people, at the original establishment of a monarchy.<sup>i</sup> But it is now denied that such a cortes ever sat, the story being of much later date. The true kingship of Alfonso Henriques dates from 1143 when, at the intervention of a papal legate, Alfonso VII recognised him as king and vassal of the pope.<sup>a</sup>

Having established his own independence of foreign authority, the new king proceeded to the emancipation of his clergy from their subjection to the archbishop of Toledo, whose primacy extended over the whole peninsula. This was the subject of long negotiations with the papal see; but Alfonso Henriques at length obtained from Pope Alexander III a bull dissolving the connection with Toledo, and constituting the archbishop of Braga primate of Portugal.

Alfonso Henriques' last conquest from the Moors was the city of Lisbon, which he took by the help of a fleet of French, English, and German crusaders, who put into the Tagus in their way to the Holy Land. He easily persuaded these champions of Christianity that it would be no violation of their vow to suspend their voyage for a while, in order to fight the Moham-medans in Portugal; and some of them, chiefly English, he is said to have induced permanently to settle in his new acquisitions.<sup>i</sup>

In 1147, we find the Portuguese intent on regaining Santarem. As the fortifications were strong, and the defenders numerous, he caused a small but resolute band to scale the walls by night: scarcely had twenty-five reached the summit of the wall, when the Moorish inhabitants took the alarm, and flew to arms. In vain one of the gates was opened by the Christians, and the rest of the assailants rushed in. The struggle which ensued, amidst the darkness of night, the clash of weapons, the groans of dying warriors, the shrieks of women and infants who were indiscriminately butchered, constituted a scene which none but a demon would have delighted to witness, which none but a demon would have commanded.<sup>1</sup> In an hour this important fortress, one of

<sup>1</sup> "Mas o rei mandando fazer as mortes indistintas, sem diferenca de sexo, e idade; o horror dos gemidos, o tropel da gente, o clamor das mulheres, a meninos, o escuro da noite causan hum espanto tao geral."—LEMONS.<sup>2</sup>

[1147-1169 A.D.]

the great bulwarks of Christian Lusitania, was in possession of the victor. His success, and the embarrassment of the Mohammedan princes of Spain, both on account of the rising power of the Almohads in Africa, and of the hostilities of the kings of Leon and Castile, emboldened him to attempt the recovery of Lisbon. That city was invested; but the valour of the defenders and the strength of the walls would doubtless have compelled him to raise the siege, had not a succour arrived which no man could have expected. This was a fleet of crusaders, chiefly of English, under the command of William Longsword, who was hastening to the Holy Land. The Portuguese king had little difficulty in persuading them that the cross had no greater enemies than the Mohammedans of Spain, and that the recovery of Lisbon would be no less acceptable to heaven than that of the Syrian towns: the hope of plunder did the rest; the crusaders disembarked, and joined in the assaults which were daily made on the place. After a gallant defence of five months, the besieged showing no disposition to surrender, the Christians appointed October 25th for a general assault on the city. It was carried by storm; a prodigious number of the Moors were put to the sword; the crusaders were too much enriched to dream of continuing their voyage; so that, with the exception of a few who received lands in Portugal, the rest returned to their own country.

But the Mohammedans had still possession of one-half of Portugal, and of several strong fortresses. Having reduced Cintra, Alfonso passed the Tagus, and seized on several fortified places in Estremadura, and even in Alemtejo. It was not, however, until 1158 that he seriously attempted the reduction of Alcacer-do-Sal, which fell, after a vigorous resistance of two months. In 1165 Cezimbra and Palmella were invested: the former place was speedily taken; while, before the latter, he had to encounter a strong force sent to relieve it by the Moorish governor of Badajoz.<sup>1</sup> The misbelievers were defeated, and many places made to surrender.

The martial character of the Portuguese king, as well as the almost uninterrupted success of his arms, inclined him to perpetual war — whether with Moors or Christians appears to have given him little concern. In 1167 he seized on Limia, a territory of Galicia, which he claimed on the ground of its having formed part of his mother's dowry. The following year he advanced against Badajoz, the Moorish governor of which was a vassal of the king of Leon. Ferdinand II hastened to its relief; but before his arrival the Portuguese standard floated on the towers. The forces of Ferdinand were greatly superior in number, and the Portuguese king prepared to issue from the gates — whether, as the national writers assert, to contend for his new conquest on the open field, or, as the Castilians say, to escape from the incensed monarch of Leon, is uncertain. What is indubitable is that, as he was passing through the gate with precipitation, his thigh came into contact with the wall or bars, and was shattered. He was taken prisoner by the Leonese, and conducted to their king, who treated him with courtesy, and consented to his liberation on the condition of his surrendering the places which he had usurped in Galicia. From this accident, however, he never recovered so as to be able to mount a horse; but it had a much worse effect than his own personal decrepitude: it encouraged the restless Mohammedans to resume their incursions into his territories.

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion Alfonso, with no more than sixty horsemen, is said to have encountered five hundred horsemen of the Almoravids, and forty thousand foot; and, what is more, to have defeated them! (See *Chronicon Lusitanum*.) These prodigious relations were admitted without scruple by the earlier historians of Portugal.





[1128-1185 A.D.]

to serious disturbance, either in the country itself or from without, especially as Ferdinand II had already shown in his conduct towards the young king of Castile that his generosity could not always resist an opportunity of adding another crown to that which he already possessed. These and similar considerations probably moved Alfonso I to associate his son with him in the government, not by any formal act of which we have record, but by giving him a free hand in the government of the state, especially in matters of warfare.

Following the phases of this long reign, and judging impartially the actions of the man placed by providence at the head of the nation, to guide it in the first years of its existence, it is recognised that the idea of fixing the Portuguese independence outweighed all other considerations in his mind, sometimes perhaps to the prejudice of some which should have been respected. It is this idea which in reality links together many acts of Alfonso Henriques which, taken separately, would give men a right to accuse him of little faith and immoderate ambition. Besides the revolt against Doña Theresa which is to be attributed rather to the nobles than to an inexperienced youth, the breaking of the truce with the emperor in 1137, the cruelties practised upon the Saracens, and finally his conduct towards the king of Leon, his son-in-law, whose noble and generous character cannot fail to cast a reflection upon that of Alfonso I, are actions which, taken separately, are worthy of condemnation, at least until records reveal some circumstances still unknown to us, which may absolve them. But, if we consider them in connection with the idea to which the king of Portugal had devoted himself, and which was so to speak incarnate in him, who will not find excuses for such actions, especially if we consider the barbarous epoch, the difficult situation of the country, and the real weakness of a society separated from another which struggled to bring it to reunion? The great need to which Alfonso I was bound to attend was to give homogeneity and internal and external strength to the nation which was being formed. For this purpose he was forced at the same time to seek the favour of the church, the first element of strength in those days; to favour the nobles, the chief nerve of the army, and finally to impart the utmost degree of vigour to the municipal spirit without which, in our opinion, popular spirit and keen love of country never have existed and never will exist.

Besides this labour of internal organisation, he had to extend the limits of the territory which he inherited, too narrow for the establishment of an independent state. The fear of his name among the Mussulmans and Christians and the daring of his troops were means to accomplish it. Naturally warlike, two successive generations learned in his school the hard business of war and succeeded in bequeathing to those to come the glorious traditions of strength and patriotic love which the nation guarded religiously for several centuries. However, before Alfonso I could trust the independence



AN EARLY PORTUGUESE KING

of the country to the chances of war, it was necessary to shield it while a frail plant, by political dexterity. In some cases this gave rise to actions which considered summarily would be condemned by severe morality. But view the picture in the proper light, and the stains which before cast a shadow upon the noble and haughty figure of the first Portuguese king will almost disappear, and the sympathy which the Portuguese nation has in all ages shown for the memory of the son of Count Henry will again appear estimable, for it has its roots in a sentiment rarely found among nations — gratitude to those to whom they are most indebted. This national affection went so far as to attribute to Alfonso Henriques the halo of the saints, and urge that Rome should bestow upon the fierce conqueror that crown which belongs to the martyr's resignation. But if a creed of peace and humility forbade Rome to grant that crown, another religion likewise venerable, the religion of patriotism, teaches us that when we pass the pale, worm-eaten portal of the church of Santa Cruz we are about to pay homage to the ashes of that man but for whom the Portuguese nation, and perhaps even the name of Portugal, would not be in existence to-day.

#### REIGNS OF SANCHE I AND ALFONSO II

The historical value of the twenty-six years' reign of the son of Alfonso I is perhaps no less than that of his own long term of government; but the character of the two epochs differ as much as did the gifts and characters of the two princes who presided over the political life of each. Less able as a captain than his father, and without that superior invention and daring which incited the founder of the monarchy to great enterprises, Sancho I was far from winning equal renown as a conqueror, but wasted the best years of his manhood in wars for the most part useless and obscure.

Upon this point the two epochs admit of no comparison. Before the sword of Alfonso, Saracen and Christian drew back dismayed, citadels and castles opened their gates; the limits of the country were extended, and the foundations of the existence of Portugal, cemented by torrents of blood, were permanently laid in the west of Spain. After a conquest Sancho always lost again, and for years carried on a sterile strife with Leon; and if he recovered a part of the north and west of Alemtejo it was because the Almo-hads, whose power was already on the decline, had not sufficient forces to maintain the almost useless dominion of those inhospitable deserts, and so abandoned them, while the Christians, especially the military orders, gradually reclaimed them and built castles and preceptories.

But if we turn our eyes from the frontiers and look upon the interior of the country, the name of the second monarch appears no less glorious than that of the first, and we see his reign as a complement of the preceding reign. Fertilised by the ashes of the martyrs of the Gospel and the *Koran*, turned and furrowed by the steel of combatants and the whirl of battles, the land of Portugal received from the hands of Sancho the seeds of greatness and royal strength in the councils which were everywhere established; in the farms and villages which were founded in the districts least subject to invasion and incursions; and in the frontier castles which were crowned with bastions and provided with military stores. In those days the courage which faces death was but a trivial virtue. Without the grand idea which dominated all his conquests, without the political skill and extraordinary military talent with which he made up for the lack of strength and resources

[1185-1211 A.D.]

of the monarchy which he founded, Alfonso I, in spite of his courage and energy, would rank no higher than a fortunate knight.

Upon this point his son was not fortune's favourite. However, he revenged himself nobly, labouring to earn the title of the *Povoador*, or city-builder, which he indeed deserved. History, so subject to the vulgar error of rating the barren laurel crown above the fruitful olive branch, has treated the last years of Sancho's reign with scorn because therein he endeavoured to substitute cities for deserts, cultivated fields for waste lands, and life for death. He pursued this end with energy, and his highest praise lies in the collection of documents which prove his activity and which are perhaps but a small portion of those once existing. This monarch sincerely followed the system which the internal state of the nation demanded, and enabled his successors to be, if not more valiant, at least more fortunate soldiers.

Such is the justice due to Sancho as king. As a man his moral character was not relatively bad, it was vulgar; that is, he had the defects common to princes and barons of the times; he was ignorant and credulous—for science, according to the opinion of the age, was only fit for the mean-spirited—irascible, and violent, because moderation is not learned upon the battle-field, where his father educated him. Besides this he seems to have been inclined to gallantry and the pleasures of the chase. Certain facts of his life also cast upon him the suspicion of cupidity, and of having gathered large sums into his treasury by means grievous to his nation. Sancho himself asserts that the defenders of the state often lacked necessities, and yet he left in his will nearly a *million maravedis*, almost all in gold coin, that is, more than *three million cruzados* of the actual currency—truly an incredible sum, if we consider the rarity of precious metals at that time. Such riches presuppose frequent rapine or a too violent system of taxation. Indeed it is proved by a law of Alfonso II that the king as well as his barons obtained the greatest necessities of life at an incomparably inferior price, a monstrous imposition which may give us some idea of the other exactions of the treasury.

But the point in which the reign of Sancho has perhaps the highest significance lies in the beginning of that varied and complex fact which for three centuries constituted the principal feature of our Middle Ages. We speak of the alliance of the king and councils against the privileged classes, the clergy and the nobility. The first phases of the struggle are not only the beginning but the epitome, or rather the symbol of the whole. The burghesses of Oporto, attacking their bishop and lord with the officers of the crown, confiscating his property, expelling him covered with ignominy, and braving the anger of the powerful family of Martinho Rodrigues, are a type of the resistance and ill will exhibited by the municipality and the king towards the two high classes of the state, until the monarchy gained a final and decisive victory. Sancho, abandoning the citizens of Oporto, transferring, so to speak, his inert strength of a dying man to the opposite camp, and even associating himself with the clergy to assist in subduing the burghesses, gave a deplorable example to his successors and stirred up the popular spirit to future strife. In spite of this, history cannot condemn him, for everything seems to indicate that the last months of his life were one protracted agony; and if even in our own times, when religious feeling has grown dim and weak, souls calling themselves strongly tempered waver at the approach of death, and bow not only to the terrors of religion but often even to the superstitious beliefs of infancy which then importunately revive—how can we fail to excuse an ignorant and credulous man, born in an

[1211-1245 A.D.]

inexorable age, for sacrificing both political convenience and loyalty to the voice of a frequently legitimate remorse?

Alfonso II "the Fat" had no sooner ascended the throne than he showed a disposition to evade the execution of his father's will. Not only did he refuse to allow his brothers the money which had been bequeathed them, but he insisted on the restitution of the fortresses which belonged to his two sisters, the saints Theresa and Sancha; and on their refusal to surrender them, he seized them by force. The infantas complained to the pope and the king of Leon: the former ordered his legate to see justice done to them; the latter, who still bore an affection towards his divorced wife Theresa, interfered more effectually by way of arms. The Leonese entered Portugal by way of Badajoz, reduced several fortresses, and spread devastations around them. In the sequel, Alfonso of Portugal, at the command of the pope and doubtless through fear of the Leonese, consented to treat with his sisters.

The transactions of Alfonso with the Mohammedans were not so remarkable as those of his predecessors—a circumstance that must be attributed not to his want of military spirit but to his excessive corpulency, which rendered the fatigues of the field intolerable. Though he sent a handful of troops to aid in the triumphs of Las Navas de Tolosa, he did not take the field in person against the enemies of his faith, until 1217 when the arrival in his ports of another crusading armament, which promised to co-operate in his designs, roused him to the reduction of Alcacer-do-Sal, a place that still remained in the power of the misbelievers. It held out till the end of September. The Mohammedans who had remained in Alemtejo, and were pressing the siege of several fortresses, were compelled to retire.

During the last three years of his reign, Alfonso had new disputes with the church. He appears to have borne little respect for the ecclesiastical immunities, some of which were, indeed, inconsistent with the interests of the community. Alfonso insisted on churchmen heading their own vassals in the wars he undertook, and such as refused were compelled to go. For such violence there was no excuse; but in subjecting the ecclesiastical possessions to the same contributions as were levied on the property of the laymen, and churchmen themselves to the secular tribunals, he attempted a salutary innovation on the established system of the clerical exemptions. The archbishop of Braga, like the English Becket of the preceding century, remonstrated with the king; and when remonstrances were ineffectual, hurled at the head of his abettors the thunders of the church. In return he was deprived of his revenues, and compelled to consult his present safety by flight. He complained to the pope: Honorius III ordered three Castilian bishops to insist on ample reparation, to excommunicate the king, and impose an interdict on the nation. The afflicted people now endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the king and the archbishop: the former promised to make satisfaction, and in future to respect the privileges of the church; he was accordingly absolved, and the interdict removed, but before he could fulfil his share of the compact he was surprised by death (1223).

Sancho II, having reluctantly promised to respect the immunities of the church, prepared to extend the boundary of his dominions at the expense of the Mohammedans. He recovered the important town of Elvas, which had been regained by the Moors: next Jarumeña and Serpa yielded to his arms. He now carried the war into Algarve. He appears to have left the enemy no fortified places in Alemtejo; the frontier fortresses of that province, thus rescued from the infidels, he intrusted to the defence of the

[1211-1245 A.D.]

order of Santiago, who triumphed in several partial engagements. The frontier places continued for some years to change masters, according as either of the hostile powers prevailed.

In his domestic administration, Dom Sancho was doomed to be far less fortunate. From his infancy he appears to have been of a weak constitution, and of a still weaker mind; but if he was weak, we have no proof that he was vicious, though great disasters afflicted his kingdom, and the historians of his country have stigmatised his memory. His hostility to the immunities of the clergy appears to have been the first and chief cause of his unpopularity.<sup>h</sup>

## SANCHO II CALLED CAPELLO, "THE HOODED"

The account of the state of the kingdom which served as a foundation for the acts which afterwards emanated from the Roman curia affirmed that the king in spite of his former promises showed on the one hand pertinacity in the perpetration of violence, and on the other the most inexcusable tolerance towards criminals, and neither amended himself nor restrained his subjects; that robbers, highwaymen, incendiaries, sacrilegists, and murderers swarmed everywhere, robbing and killing clergy and laity without distinction, and living secure of impunity. That through this contagious example of the impotence of the laws, barons and knights, nobles and plebeians made general practice of those acts which the church by the most severe comminations had endeavoured to restrain. That certain patrons of parishes and monasteries, and others falsely giving themselves out as such, accompanied by illegitimate children, wasted the property of the said parishes and monasteries without pity, reducing them to such misery that the very ministers of worship could not maintain themselves; so that in some there was even no one to perform the indispensable services, and in others the cloisters, refectories, and other offices were converted into stables and brothels for the lowest of men, and it might almost be said that divine worship had ceased there and the property of these holy places was given over to dilapidation and plunder. That at the same time Sancho allowed the castles, towns, and revenues of the crown to be destroyed and squandered, and suffered the increase of assassinations without any distinction whatever of the class, age, or sex of the victims; as well as robbery, incest, the rape of nuns and secular women, grievous oppression of labourers, priests, and merchants, with the purpose of extorting money from them; violation of temples and cemeteries, incendiarism, and breaches of truce. That Sancho was aware of all this and yet tolerated it, and through neglect of punishment facilitated the perpetration of further crimes; that finally, by abandoning the defence of the frontiers, he, the king of Portugal, allowed the Saracens to occupy the lands and lordships of the Christians. "We," added the prelates, "have used our utmost endeavours to move the prince to devote himself with due ardour to the repression of such evils; but he closes his ears to our admonitions, which have so far been entirely vain."

If the reader will reflect upon this last invective of the clergy against Sancho, he will recognise with what good reason we attribute to the long wars of this reign an immense influence upon the strife with the clergy, and see in these repeated enterprises against the infidel an idea, or maybe a political instinct, of the monarchy which drew strength from them for the eternal duel with the priesthood. As far as documents throw light upon the last conquests in Algarve, the accusation that Sancho in a cowardly manner



abandoned the defence of the frontier and allowed the Mussulman arms to encroach upon the territory of the kingdom was a calumny.

But the heads of the clergy did not hesitate to adopt such means, for it was necessary to destroy the reputation of a conqueror of the enemies of the cross which the king of Portugal must still have enjoyed in the Roman curia, where the solemn testimonies of praise lavished upon him more than once by Gregory IX could not be yet forgotten. It was necessary to snatch the crown from the soldier's helm and place it on a dishonoured brow, that they might afterwards roll it in the dust before the priestly sandal. But up to a certain point Sancho offered a pretext for such calumny by the fatal repose of the preceding years, and perhaps some obscure event, the loss of some unimportant tower or grange of Ayamonte in the east or Tavira in the west, a loss exaggerated by ecclesiastical malice, gave the absurd assertion some appearance of truth.

The description of the state of Portugal, drawn up by the Roman curia, although exaggerated, was based on facts proved by various documents and memoirs of that time, and above all by the inquisitions of the following reign. But these very inquisitions prove that the members of the secular clergy and monastic orders were not innocent of the public evils, especially as regards robbery and the diminution of the patrimony of the crown. They complained of the contempt in which canonical censure was held, but the fault was theirs. The spiritual sword was blunted by excessive use; excommunication, interdict, denial of burial in consecrated ground accompanied all the pretensions of the ministers of the altar, even those which the rudest of men could plainly perceive to be dictated by shameful cupidity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the nobles as well as the burgesses and peasants laughed at the chastisement which the clergy themselves taught them to despise. It was this contrast which throughout all Europe wounded the most enlightened men and gradually undermined the foundations and political influence of the church. The representation of the prelates was therefore doubly disloyal, attributing to the king alone the evils of which they were no less guilty, and describing the crimes and excesses of the laity towards the clergy, but forgetting to mention the abuse of divine things and the cupidity and lawlessness of the clergy.

The truth is, however, that this new phase of the interminable conflict between the clergy and the civil power did not arise from the cause assigned, but from the conjunction of circumstances which gave the bishops the means of gaining a decisive victory over the crown. The idea of deposing a king through the initiative of the church was old, and was considered so feasible that in grave cases the popes did not hesitate to allude to it clearly in their comminations and threats. In Portugal especially, as a kingdom in a manner dependent upon the papal throne, such a course must have seemed even easier, as the king was without moral or material means of defence.]

#### SANCHO DEPOSED, ALFONSO III SUCCEEDS (1245 A.D.)

Censures were passed on the monarch for his persecution of the dean of Lisbon. His subsequent repentance disarmed the pontiff; and, notwithstanding the complaints of the people that the laws were silent, and brute force only triumphed, he would doubtless have ended his reign in peace, had he not resumed or permitted the spoliation of the church. At length, both clergy and people united their murmurs; they perceived that the king was too feeble



[1245-1253 A.D.]

to repress the daily feuds of his barons, who broke out into open war and committed the greatest excesses. They applied to Innocent IV, who, in concert with the fathers of the council, issued a decree by which, though the royal title was left to Sancho, the administration was declared to be vested in the infante Alfonso, brother of the king.

No sooner did Alfonso hear of the extraordinary proceedings of the pope and council, than he prepared to vindicate the title which it had conferred upon him. He was then at Boulogne-sur-Mer, the lordship of which belonged to him in the right of his wife Matilda. Having sworn before the papal commissioners to administer Portugal with justice, and leaving the government of Boulogne in the hands of his countess, he embarked at that port, and safely landed at Lisbon. At first the king intended to oppose the infante; but seeing how generally the deputies owned him,—how all classes, nobles and citizens, prelates and peasants, joined his brother,—he retreated into Spain, to solicit the support of his cousin, Ferdinand III. As that saintly monarch was too busy in the Andalusian wars to assist the fugitive king in person, he recommended the interests of his guest to his son Alfonso. The Castilian infante showed no want of zeal in behalf of his relative. He collected a considerable army, and invaded Portugal. Arriving before Leiria without much opposition, he was preparing to storm that fortress, when he was visited by a deputation from the archbishop of Braga, which conjured him, as a true son of the church, not to incur excommunication by opposing the execution of the pontifical bulls. The Castilian infante listened, and obeyed: he led back his army; and the deposed monarch, now bereft of all hope, retired to Toledo, where, early in 1248, he ended his days. So long as the latter lived, some of the fortified places in Portugal refused to acknowledge the regent; but on his death without issue—there is no evidence that he was ever married—his brother was peaceably acknowledged as his successor.

Alfonso III, on arriving at a height which, a few years before, his ambition could scarcely have reached, was not without apprehensions that the Castilian king or infante might trouble him in his usurpation, and assembled the three estates of his realm to deliberate on the means of defence. Fortunately for his ambition, both father and son were absorbed by their Andalusian conquests. To secure, if possible, the good will of the former, he sent a considerable aid to the Christian camp, which was readily received by the hero. In the meantime he himself resolved to profit by the reverses of the misbelievers, and finish the conquest of Algarve. At the head of a sufficient force, he accordingly penetrated into that province, and speedily recovered the places which the Mohammedans had again surprised. In a subsequent expedition, his ardour or avarice led him to encroach on the possessions of Alfonso el Sabio, Ferdinand's successor. The Castilian army marched against the Portuguese, who were compelled to retreat. The Castilian king did not stop here. On the pretext that Algarve, as chiefly conquered by his subjects, the knights of Santiago, belonged to him, he invaded that province, and quickly reduced its chief fortresses. The Portuguese was glad to sue for an accommodation; and it was at length agreed that he should marry Doña Beatrice de Guzman, a natural daughter of the Castilian, and with her receive the sovereignty of Algarve. As the province had been conquered by the subjects of both crowns, equity would have indicated its division by the two monarchs; but as such a division would probably have led to future wars, the present arrangement might be a politic one. The Castilian appears to have reserved to himself the sovereignty of Algarve, his feudatory being required both to pay tribute and to furnish a

[1253-1279 A.D.]

certain number of forces whenever he should be at war. The cession, with whatever conditions it was accompanied, was disagreeable to the Castilians, who thought that their monarch had sacrificed the interests of the state in favour of his daughter. The marriage was solemnised in the following year (in 1254), and a few years afterwards Portugal was declared forever free from homage to the Castilian kings.

From the facility with which this matrimonial connection was formed, it would be inferred that the Portuguese was become a widower. But the countess Matilda still lived, and was anxious to return to her lord. Her only defects were her barrenness and her age — two which, though no canonist would recognise, were sufficient in the mind of so unscrupulous a prince as Alfonso. She sailed for Portugal. He refused to see her; and when at length she forced her way into his presence, he heard, unmoved, her entreaties, her expostulations, and threats. The queen (for such history must call her) retired to Boulogne, and laid her complaints before the pope and her liege superior, St. Louis. After a patient examination of the case, Alexander IV expedited a bull, by which he declared Matilda the lawful wife of Alfonso, and annulled the recent marriage with Doña Beatrice. The king persevered in his lust, as he had already done in his usurpation, even when excommunicated by the pope; and he and his household were interdicted from the offices of the church. A second time is she said to have visited Portugal, but with as little success. She had married him when poor — when almost an exile from his native court — and had thereby raised him to power and riches: and her unshaken attachment — unshaken even by his sickening ingratitude — proves that though the empire of the passions had ceased, she possessed an uncommon share of woman's best feeling. Her last act, by which she bequeathed a considerable sum to this faithless deserter, was characteristic enough of her ruling misfortune. On her death, in 1262, his prelates obtained from the pope a bull to render legitimate the present marriage.<sup>h</sup>

#### POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF ALFONSO'S REIGN

Alfonso determined to bridle the power of the bishops, in spite of his oath at Paris. Perceiving that this could only be done with the help of the mass of the people, he summoned a cortes at Leiria in 1254, to which representatives of the cities were elected and sat with the nobles and higher clergy. With the help of the cortes — one of great importance in the constitutional history of Portugal — he dared the interdict laid upon the kingdom for having married again (the daughter of Alfonso el Sabio) whilst his first wife (Matilda, countess of Boulogne) was alive. Finally, however, on the petition of the archbishops and bishops of Portugal, Pope Urban IV legalised the disputed marriage in 1262 and legitimated his eldest son, Dom Diniz, while in 1263, Alfonso X made over to him the full sovereignty of Algarve. On the other hand, the people made use of their power, and in a full cortes at Coimbra in 1261 the representatives of the cities boldly denounced Alfonso's tampering with the coinage, and compelled recognition of the fact that taxes were not levied by the inherent right of the king but the free consent of the people. After a prosperous and successful reign Nemesis came upon Alfonso in the rebellion of his eldest son Diniz<sup>1</sup> in 1277, which continued until 1279, in which year the king died.

[<sup>1</sup> According to some authorities Diniz did not rebel at all, but was an exemplary son, and was present at his father's death-bed.]

The period of war and of territorial extension in the peninsula was now over, and the period of civilisation was to dawn. Territorially and constitutionally Portugal was now an established kingdom; it remained for it to become civilised and thoroughly homogeneous before the great heroic period of exploration and Asiatic conquest should begin.

## DOM DINIZ

No better man for such work than the new king, Dom Diniz, could have been found; he was himself a poet and loved letters; he was a great administrator and loved justice; above all he saw the need of agriculture and the arts of peace to take the place of incessant wars, and nobly earned the title of the *Ré Lavrador*, or Diniz the Labourer. From all these points of view his reign is of vast importance in the history of Portugal, though, like all reigns of peaceful progress, it is not signalised by many striking events. It began with a civil war between Diniz and his brother Alfonso, who disputed his legitimacy, which ended in a compromise; and in 1281 Diniz married Isabella, daughter of Pedro III of Aragon, who for her pure and unselfish life was canonised in the sixteenth century. His reign is marked by only one war with Sancho IV and his successor, Ferdinand IV, of Castile and Leon, which was terminated in 1297 by a treaty of alliance, according to the terms of which Ferdinand IV married Constanza, daughter of Diniz, while Alfonso, the heir to the throne of Portugal, married Beatrice of Castile, sister of Ferdinand. At the end of this reign war broke out between the king and the heir-apparent, and a pitched battle was only prevented in 1323 by St. Isabella riding between the armies and making a peace between her husband and her son, which lasted until the death of the great peace-monarch, the *Ré Lavrador*, in 1325.<sup>c</sup>

Treachery and abuse of power were so frequent that, notwithstanding various diplomatic disloyalties, Diniz was considered one of the most loyal and just princes and lords of the two kingdoms. For this reason the two great kingdoms of Aragon and Castile appointed him arbitrator in the most serious disputes, and submitted to his judgment. Although the genius of war did not weave martial crowns for him, as conqueror in battles — for during his time no great honours fell to the Portuguese arms — yet he was ever at the head of the national armies in all the campaigns; knowing that his most powerful allies had been destroyed and others had betrayed him, he had the skilful audacity to penetrate forty leagues into the interior of Castile, and availing himself of the opportunity afforded by his opponents' weakness, he increased the Portuguese dominion by two castles and eleven important towns, as though he were the most successful of warriors. The civil dissensions which disturbed his reign both arose from the same causes and circumstances, mediæval feudalism, assisted by Castilian elements. Taking for leaders first the brother and then the son of Diniz, the rebels combatted royal power in the kingdom, which, supported by the people, daily increased feudal privileges and forces.

The husband of Isabella was as rapid and successful in his measures against his brother as he was undecided and weak in repressing his son. In the first instance his courage was heightened by the just ambition of safe-guarding his throne; whereas, in the second instance, it was weakened by paternal affection and respect of legitimacy in the succession of the crown.

However, the principal glory of Diniz was not won with his sword. Of his epoch a perfect king, penetrated by his country's needs, he notably increased the territory of Alfonso Henriques, but above all he raised to an amazing height the edifice of internal organisation, the foundations of which had been laid by Sancho I. His disloyalties with respect to the neighbouring kingdoms, his rare moments of repressive cruelty, the errors into which he may have fallen as a politician, the many faults into which he was in truth led by an ardent and sensual character — Diniz redeemed them all by the general and profound reform he effected with regard to Portuguese society.

He raised the population of the country, as none of his predecessors had done, by the means we have spoken of; he brought agriculture to a pitch of prosperity which we now marvel at; he created the internal industry and commerce, promoted municipal organisation, favouring labour, encouraging markets, and raising the spirit of the people; he safeguarded navigation by establishing vast societies of mutual aid between merchants, and definitely established a navy, with which he defended the coasts and the Portuguese merchant ships against pirates, and equipped his subjects for the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which brought universal and eternal fame upon Portugal. He built nearly fifty fortresses, reorganised the popular militia, and nationalising the military orders with praiseworthy abnegation, he widely prepared the defence of the country, and bequeathed to Dom João I the possibility of opposing a formidable invasion by Castile and establishing once for all, with immortal glory, the independence of the country.

He was a zealous administrator, wise and economic, so that with the national resources he left the public treasury wealthy. Of a tolerant spirit, prudent and just in the application of the laws, no prince of his own times surpassed him in these qualities, then most rare. With gentle measures, affectionately and frequently protecting individual rights, he was one of the most determined opponents of the excessive privileges of the nobility and the church. Having received civil power, bound beneath the yoke of the Portuguese clergy, in their turn fettered to the Roman tiara, Diniz not only raised this power, but even succeeded in giving life to the national episcopacy.

The establishment of the councils begun by previous governments largely progressed, and the cortes, continuing to summon the deputies of the people, was a new and powerful aid towards the destruction of mediæval, ecclesiastical, and military feudalism in Portugal. With the laws respecting mortmain decreed and executed with civic firmness and superior wisdom, the clergy were deprived of territorial power and the sovereign right of administering justice; civil actions were brought before secular tribunals, which by a usurpation of jurisdiction had up to that time been brought before ecclesiastical tribunals.

The nobles were prohibited from raising new seigniorial castles, and many of the old were levelled; they were deprived of their traditional rights of deciding mutual disputes with the sword, of making knights, of exempting themselves from the royal tax, turning into fiefs and boroughs the lands they had seized without just cause, and even those with which they had established merely personal relations, and finally by giving judgment in causes in which the nobles claimed for themselves exclusive knowledge, the feudal nobility was totally destroyed, as was the temporal power of the church. Up to then the beneficial influence of the times sufficed to totally undermine the old oligarchic institutions of the Middle Ages, which were an overwhelming oppression of the people, and absorbed the forces of the state.

[1300-1340 A.D.]

Finally Diniz, who was the greatest poet of the first four centuries of Portugal, founded to his honour the *Estudaria de Santo Eloy* in Lisbon, and also the university, causing general enthusiasm; and by spreading the love of letters and study in the country, laid the foundations of secular and public instruction and opened to the Portuguese people the gates of science, and consequently those of civilisation and liberty.

After the work of Alfonso Henriques, that of Diniz is the most important which Portuguese history records to us: the first was the founder of the military nation; the second, that of the cultured people. The union of those two works gave to Portugal centuries later the possibility of realising, in the long evolution of mankind, her glorious mission of enlarging the known world.\*

Alfonso IV, surnamed the Brave, had scarcely grasped the reins of sovereignty, when he exhibited, in a manner little becoming royalty, his vindictive feelings towards his illegitimate brother, Alfonso Henriques, who, to escape his wrath, had just fled into Castile. Having collected some troops, and been joined by a prince of Castile, he entered Portugal, laid waste the frontiers, and put to the sword every living being that fell in his way. The king now took the field in person, and laid waste the neighbouring territories of Castile. These harassing though indecisive hostilities might have continued for years, had not St. Isabella left her retreat in the convent of St. Clair, which she had founded, and prevailed on her son to permit the return of the exile.

Another defect of the new king gave great offence to the people — his neglect of public business, and his addiction to the chase. The first twelve years of Alfonso's reign were distracted by hostilities with his namesake of Castile, the husband of his daughter. Though these hostilities were chiefly owing to the perversity of the infante Don Juan Manuel, it cannot be denied that the Portuguese king had abundant reason for dissatisfaction with his son-in-law. The usage experienced by the Castilian queen at the hands of her husband; her mortification at seeing a mistress, Leonora de Guzman, not only preferred to herself, but the sole depository of the royal favour; the studied insults to which she was daily exposed both from her husband and his minion, at length exhausted her patience, and drew forth some complaints to her father. The influence, too, which Don Juan Manuel obtained in the Portuguese court through the marriage of his repudiated daughter Constanza with Pedro, son and heir of the Portuguese king, was uniformly exerted to embroil the two crowns. Alfonso of Portugal at length sent a herald at arms to defy his son-in-law, on the ground both of the unjust treatment of the queen, whom her husband was suspected of seeking to repudiate, and of the continued detention of Constanza. His next step was to enter Castile and ravage the country as far as the vicinity of Seville.

The war was now as destructive as it was indecisive and even inglorious: it was one of mutual ravage, of shameless rapine, and unblushing cruelty. Instead of meeting each other on a fair field, they seemed intent on nothing but laying waste each other's territory, and collecting as much booty as they could carry away: sometimes, however, the contest was decided on the deep, but with little success to either party. At length, through the efforts of the pope, the two princes agreed to a truce, and to the opening of negotiations for peace. But one of the conditions was the removal of Leonora de Guzman — a condition which Alfonso of Castile, who was entirely governed by that lady, was in no disposition to execute, but the preparations of the Mohammedans, which he knew were chiefly directed against himself, and the loud complaints of his own subjects, forced him to promise at least that it should

be conceded. To the departure of Constanza, the restitution of some insignificant fortresses which had been reduced, and even to the return of his queen, the Castilian felt no repugnance; but though he consented for Leonora to leave the court, he recalled her immediately after the conclusion of peace. To his queen, however, he no longer exhibited a marked neglect: on the contrary, he treated her with all the outward respect due to her character and station; and the good understanding was confirmed by her admirable moderation.

In the wars which the Castilian had to sustain against the Mohammedans, the Portuguese—so nobly did he forget his wrongs when the interests of Christendom were at stake—was no inefficient ally. He was present at the great battle on the banks of the Salado, in which the barbaric power was so signally humbled. This aid he continued readily to supply, until the death of Alfonso of Castile, by the plague, before Gibraltar, in 1350.

#### THE ROMANCE OF IÑES DE CASTRO

The tragedies represented in Castile by Pedro the Cruel, successor of Alfonso XI, were fully equalled by one in Portugal. Soon after his marriage with Constanza, Pedro, the infante of Portugal, had become passionately smitten with one of her attendants, Doña Iñes de Castro, a lady of surpassing beauty, and frail as beautiful. That he made love to her, and that his criminal suit was favourably received, is indubitable, both from the deep grief which preyed on the spirits of Constanza, and from the anxiety of the king, lest this new favourite should be the cause of the same disturbance in Portugal, as Leonora de Guzman had occasioned in Castile. To prevent the possibility of a marriage between the two lovers, Alfonso caused Iñes to hold over the baptismal font a child of Pedro's—in other words, to contract a near spiritual affinity. But the man whom the sacred bond of wedlock could not restrain was not likely to be deterred from his purpose by an imaginary bar. After Constanza's death in childbed, 1345, he privately married the seductive favourite. How soon after the death of the first wife this second union was contracted, whether immediately, or after Iñes had borne him three children, has been matter of much dispute. It appears that the marriage was celebrated on the 1st day of January, 1354, when Iñes must have borne him four children, of which three survived. It also appears that a papal dispensation was obtained for it, and that it took place at Braganza, in presence of a Portuguese prelate and his own chamberlain. However secret this step, it was suspected by some courtiers, who, partly through envy at the rising favour of the Castros, and partly through dread of the consequences which might ensue, endeavoured to prevail on the king to interfere in behalf of young Ferdinand, the son of Pedro and Constanza, and the lawful heir to the monarchy. From the boundless influence possessed over the mind of Pedro by Doña Iñes, it was feared that the true heir would be set aside from the succession in favour of her offspring. In the end, they wrung from him a reluctant consent to her death. The king, hearing that his son had departed on a hunting excursion for a few days, hastily left Monte-mor, and proceeded to the convent of St. Clair, at Coimbra, where Iñes then was. On learning his approach, she at once apprehended his object. Her only resource was an appeal to his pity. Taking her three children by the hand, she issued from the convent to meet him, prostrated herself at his feet, and in the most pathetic terms begged for mercy. Her beauty, her



[1348-1357 A.D.]

youth, her deep emotion, and the sight of her offspring—his own grandchildren—so affected him that, after a struggle between policy and nature, the latter triumphed, and he retired. No sooner, however, was he in private with his confidants, than they censured his compassion, though natural in itself, as ruinous in its consequences to his family and kingdom, and obtaining his consent hastened to the convent. The unfortunate, guilty Inês fell beneath their daggers. The fate of this lady has called forth the deepest commiseration of novelists and poets, and has given rise to some vigorous effusions of the tragic muse.

When Pedro returned from the chase, and found his wife so barbarously murdered, his grief was surpassed, if possible, by his thirst for revenge. He leagued himself with the kindred of Inês; and though he could not fall on the murderers, who were protected by the king, he laid waste the provinces of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, and Trás-os-Montes, where their possessions chiefly lay. King Alfonso was in consternation at the unexpected fury of his son. In the end he proposed, as the price of reconciliation, that the obnoxious nobles should be banished, and his son admitted to the chief share of the administration. Pedro accepted it, laid down his arms, and proceeded to court where he was received with an affection truly paternal, and where he engaged, though with a fixed resolution of breaking the engagement, never to seek revenge on the assassins of Doña Inês.

Alfonso did not long survive this forced reconciliation with his son. His death, which happened at the beginning of 1357, is said to have been hastened by remorse for the tragical deed of which he had been the occasion. That he exhibited great repentance is certain; but his character was unamiable. He had been a disobedient son, an unjust brother, and a harsh father. The rebellion of his son was but fit retribution for his own conduct to the royal Diniz. His justice too often degenerated into blind vengeance. During his reign (in 1348) Portugal was afflicted with the plague, which spread throughout most of Europe, but which raged with more violence in that kingdom than anywhere else. Whole towns are said to have been left desolate, and some priests to have abandoned their flocks to the care of the monks.<sup>h</sup>

If we consider Alfonso IV—not isolated, nor in the light of our present-day views and social conditions as a son or as a father (even in this character we can bring forward the virtuous and exemplary spouse), but principally as leader and as king, in the moment when he assumed and exercised his power—we must confess, in face of the numerous documents relating to his external policy and his enormous legislation, that he is one of the most important figures, and that his government was one of the most advantageous, the most brilliant, and the most able of the intelligent and energetic governments which presided over the national formation of Portugal. In the character of this king there is a certain harmonious stamp of austerity which gives him a decided and characteristic originality in the midst of the free customs, and, we may say, of the traditional moral license of the kings of his time. Dom Diniz, the father of King Alfonso IV, in spite of the perfect devotion of his wife, was the easy prey of adulterous loves, and far from disguising them, flagrantly and heedlessly published them by the generosity of his gifts, calling to himself his bastard children and lavishing favours upon them, and confessing even by public documents the rewards conferred on his mistresses.

As to Dom Pedro, the Romeo of Inês de Castro, we know that he was not so absorbed by this fatal passion but that the nation's history owes to him the bastard progenitor of the second dynasty. In this instance Dom

Alfonso presents a totally distinct character from that of his son; an exemplary husband, he made every effort to raise by royal authority the moral tone in the relation between the sexes, and to check the dissolute customs of the times. He made severe laws against those who availed themselves of such usages and customs up to that time in vogue, which seduced by endearments, or other means, various virgins and widows leading honest lives to make use of them for their evil purposes; he denounced "any man or woman guilty of panderage, and keeping in their houses for this purpose virgins, married women, religious, or widows." At the exact moment that he was publishing some of his most severe laws upon this matter his son gave cause of scandal by his real or apparent cohabitation with Doña Iñes de Castro. Finally he left the kingdom to his successor in perfect internal and external peace, and it would be cruel injustice to deny that under his government the work of the political consolidation of Portuguese society made important progress.<sup>k</sup>

#### PEDRO THE SEVERE

Pedro I was scarcely established on the throne before he gave way to his uncontrollable desire for vengeance on the murderers of Doña Iñes. Knowing that they had sought protection in Castile, and how eager his namesake of that country was for the surrender of several Castilians, who, in like manner, had obtained an asylum in Portugal, he paid court to that monarch, with whom he entered into a close alliance, and to whom he despatched ten of his galleys to serve in the war against Aragon. Having declared the fugitive nobles, who were three in number, Pedro Coelho, Alvaro Gonsalves, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, traitors to their country, and confiscated all their possessions, he either proposed or received the proposal — there is some doubt from which of the two monarchs it originally came, or whether it may not be equally attributed to both — for the arrest of their personal enemies. On a given day the obnoxious Castilians were arrested in Portugal, the Portuguese in Castile, and were surrendered to their respective executioners. Of the three Portuguese, however, Pacheco escaped.

The escape of even one victim was gall to the Portuguese king; but he resolved to satiate his rage on the two who were placed in his reach. Both were thrown into a deep dungeon, put to the torture, with the view of eliciting whether others were implicated in the same crime. They withstood the acute torments they were made to endure with a firmness truly admirable — a circumstance that increased beyond measure the rage of Pedro, who was present at the hellish scene. With Coelho in particular, whom not a word, not a groan had escaped, he was so exasperated that he seized a whip and struck him on the face. This indignity affected the high-spirited knight far more than his present sufferings. Regarding the king with eyes full of fury, he loaded him not merely with the keenest reproaches, but with a torrent of abuse. The latter foamed at the mouth, and ordered his victims to be transferred from the dungeon to a scaffold erected in front of his palace. There he appeared at the window, expressing a savage delight at the new torments they sustained. At length the living hearts of both were plucked from their bodies; hearts and bodies were next consigned to the flames; and when consumed, the ashes were scattered by the winds.

The next proceeding of Pedro was to honour alike the remains and memory of the unfortunate Iñes. He convoked the states of his kingdom at Cas-tanedo, and, in their presence, made oath on the holy Gospels that, in the

[1361-1367 A.D.]

year 1354, he had married that lady. The witnesses of the fact, the bishop of Guarda and his own chamberlain, were likewise publicly sworn, and the bull of dispensation produced which Pope Innocent VI had granted for the celebration of the ceremony. No doubt was entertained by the assembled nobles and clergy that Iñes had been the lawful wife of their prince; and she was unanimously declared entitled to the honours usually paid to the Portuguese queens. That the legitimacy of her offspring might never be disputed, copies of the papal dispensation and of the oaths taken on this occasion were multiplied and dispersed throughout the kingdom. The validity of the marriage being thus established, Pedro now proceeded to show due honour to her remains. He ordered two magnificent tombs, both of white marble, to be constructed, one for himself, the other for that lady, and placed them in the monastery of Alcobaça. He then proceeded to the church of St. Clair at Coimbra, caused her corpse to be brought from the sepulchre, to be arrayed in royal ornaments, to be placed on a throne with a crown on the head and a sceptre in the hand, and there to receive the homage of his assembled courtiers. From that church it was conveyed on a magnificent car, accompanied by nobles and high-born dames, all clad in mourning, to the monastery of Alcobaça.<sup>1</sup>

As the subsequent transactions of the Portuguese king with his namesake of Castile have been already related [in the history of Spain, Chapter III], nothing now remains but briefly to notice his internal administration. It is allowed to have been as rigorous as it was whimsical. With the view of correcting the extravagance which had long seized on the higher orders of his people, he made a law that whoever bought or sold on credit should be punished — if the first offence, by stripes; if the second, by death. In his own household he set the example of paying for everything in money the instant it was purchased. If he was thus severe against thoughtless imprudence, he could not be expected to be more lenient towards guilt. Of the vices which he visited with un pitying vengeance, fornication and adultery were the most obnoxious to him. That the lover of Iñes de Castro should thus hold in abhorrence those which he had so long practised might create surprise, were it not proved by general experience, not only that we are most forward to condemn in others imperfections to which ourselves are prone, but that kings are too often eager to plead exemption from obligations binding on the rest of mankind. Hearing that the bishop of Oporto lived in a state of concubinage, the royal moralist laid on him unmercifully with a whip. As he was one day proceeding along a street, he heard a woman call another by an opprobrious name. He speedily inquired into the affair; and, finding that the latter had been violated previous to her marriage by her husband, he consigned the offender to the executioner. Suspecting that the wife of a certain merchant was unfaithful to her conjugal duty, he caused her to be watched until he detected her in the actual crime; both lady and paramour were immediately committed to the flames. An old woman prostituted her daughter to a Portuguese admiral; the woman was burned, the admiral sentenced to lose his head — a sentence, however, which he escaped by flight. Other offences against the laws were punished, sometimes in proportion to their magnitude, but generally to his caprice. An inferior officer of the law one day complained that a gentleman on whom he had served a

[<sup>1</sup> Like all other romantic events, this story has attracted the critics, their chief objection to it being the fact that the contemporary historian Lopes,<sup>2</sup> who describes the death of Iñes with much detail, has nothing to say of the exhumation and coronation. But such negative argument must be cautiously used and historians have not yet annulled the story of Iñes.]

process had struck him and plucked him by the beard; Pedro turned to the presiding judge, and said, "I have been struck, and my beard has been plucked, by one of my subjects!" The judge, who understood the appeal, caused the culprit to be arrested and beheaded. Perceiving that causes were frequent, tedious, and expensive, and shrewdly divining the reason, he purged his courts of all advocates and proctors, — of all who had a manifest interest in litigation, and reduced all processes to a simple statement of the case by the parties concerned, and of the sentence by the judges, reserving, however, to himself the privilege of deciding appeals. If we add that Pedro was liberal of rewards, and fond of music and dancing, the character of the royal barbarian will be completed.

Ferdinand I, son of Pedro and the princess Constanza, was ill fitted to succeed monarchs so vigorous as his immediate predecessors. Fickle, irresolute, inconstant, without discernment, directed by no rule of conduct, obedient only to momentary impulse, addicted to idleness, or to recreations still more censurable, the very benevolence of his nature was a calamity.

After the death of the Castilian Pedro the Cruel, Ferdinand, considering himself the true heir to the crown, assumed the regal title and arms of Castile. His ambition was lamentably inadequate to an enterprise so important as that of encountering and attempting to dethrone the bastard usurper Henry of Trastamara. From the recesses of his palace, he appeared to witness the invasion of his kingdom and the defeat of his armies with indifference. When, in 1373, Lisbon itself was invested by the Castilian king, the defence of the place was abandoned to the valour of the inhabitants, and to their deep-rooted hatred of the Spanish sway. The same year, indeed, peace was made through the mediation of the pope; but it was often broken by Ferdinand during the reign both of Henry of Trastamara and Juan I, the son and successor of that prince. The marriage of Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand, with Juan, in 1382, and the treaty for uniting the two crowns, have been related in the history of Spain [Chapter V], and to that history the reader is referred for an account of the obscure and indecisive, however destructive, wars between the two kingdoms.

During these transactions proposals were frequently made for restoring permanent harmony by matrimonial alliances. At first Ferdinand cast his eyes on the infanta Leonora of Aragon, whom he engaged to marry; but, with his usual fickleness, he escaped from the obligation. He next promised to raise a daughter of Henry of Trastamara, also named Leonora, to the Portuguese throne. When the time approached for the celebration of this marriage, Ferdinand fell passionately in love with one of his own subjects — a Leonora like the rest.<sup>1</sup> To beauty of the finest order, Leonora added a sprightliness which charmed and a wit which captivated him; but these were far inferior to her ambition, and unsupported by one single principle of honour or virtue. She was already the wife of Dom João Lourenço da Cunha, lord of Pombeiro. "Of that we are well aware," said Ferdinand; "but they are related by blood, and they married without a dispensation: the engagement may easily be annulled." Proceedings for the cassation of the marriage were instituted in the ecclesiastical courts; and as the husband offered no opposition to them, — doubtless because he had no wish to contend with a plaintiff whose cause was backed by legions of soldiers, — it was declared null. Not considering himself safe in Portugal, Dom Lourenço fled

<sup>1</sup> "This name proved terrible to the king," says Lemos. This name, indeed, in all the three cases, is a most singular coincidence: it did not prove terrible, however it might be pernicious to the interests of the kingdom.

[1372-1376 A.D.]

into Castile, evidently little afflicted at the loss of an unprincipled woman.<sup>1</sup> There is reason to believe that it was Ferdinand's original intention to make her his mistress; but she had too much policy to become the tool of one whom she had resolved to rule; and she assumed the appearance of so much modesty, that to gain his object he was forced to marry her.

But this marriage was strictly private — a precaution adopted as well to stifle the murmurs of his subjects as to prevent the indignant remonstrances of Henry. It was, however, suspected, and the very suspicion produced great dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom — nowhere so great as in the capital. A mob, formidable from its numbers, assembled in the streets, and headed by a tailor, proceeded to the palace to reproach the king for his imprudence. Ferdinand said that he had neither married nor intended to marry Leonora. This declaration satisfied the mob; who, however, insisted that he should take an oath the following day to the same effect in the church of São Domingos — a promise which he readily made. At the time appointed, they proceeded to the church, but found to their mortification that, during the night, the king and Leonora had fled to Santarem. In the height of their fury they apostrophised both in no measured terms. Their insulting conduct so incensed the queen that she procured a royal order for the arrest and execution of the tailor and his chief associates. The fear which this act of severity struck into the people emboldened the king to publish his marriage. The nobles and prelates now hastened to court, to recognise their new queen. All readily kissed her hand with the exception, of Dom Diniz, son of Pedro and Iñes de Castro, who accompanied his refusal in open court with expressions of contempt. Ferdinand drew his poniard, and would doubtless have laid his obnoxious brother at his feet, but for the interference of two nobles who arrested his arm. Even João, the grand-master of Aviz, a natural son of the late king, who is about to perform so memorable a part in the national history, bowed before the triumphant Leonora. To render her power more secure, she began to act with great policy, disarmed hostility, and secured to herself an undisturbed possession of her new dignity.

The insult to the royal family of Castile involved in this imprudent marriage was one of the causes which led to the hostilities that followed — hostilities in which the country was laid waste, from Badajoz to Lisbon, and that capital invested. On the conclusion of peace, in 1373, which was cemented by the marriage of a natural daughter of Ferdinand with a natural son of Henry, tranquillity visited the kingdom for some years; but the Portuguese court, through the ambition and wickedness of the queen, was often distracted and disgraced. As Ferdinand had only a daughter — the princess Beatrice — by Leonora, and as no hopes of future issue appear to have been entertained, the infante João, brother of the king, (not the bastard of that name who was the grand-master of Aviz, but the eldest surviving son of Pedro and Iñes de Castro), was regarded as the presumptive heir to the crown. To set him aside from the succession was now the object of the queen. Fortunately for her purpose, the imprudence of the prince presented her with the means. Struck with the personal charms of Donna Maria, sister of the queen, he privately married her. The step was not hidden from Leonora; who, so far from betraying her knowledge of it, and to lull her intended victim into profound security, proposed to the infante the hand of her own child, and with it the throne of Portugal. As she expected, her

<sup>1</sup> To disarm ridicule by braving it, and to prove how little the affair had affected him, the exiled husband attached to each side of his cap a golden horn.



offer was declined; but she was resolved to move heaven and earth rather than see her sister and brother-in-law in the possession of supreme power. The former she appears to have hated: her destruction was certainly planned with demoniacal coolness. Sending one day for the infante, she assumed the appearance of intense affliction; assured him that she knew of his marriage with her sister; but that regard for him and his honour, as well as for the honour of the royal family, would not permit her to conceal that sister's depravity. "You are betrayed, prince!" was the substance of her address. "Maria loves another, to whom she grants her favours!"

Unfortunately, João, who was unacquainted with her real character, and who could not suppose her capable of deliberately destroying a sister, implicitly believed her; and in the madness of his rage, hastened to Coimbra, where the princess then abode. She met him with her usual smiles, and, on being repulsed, falteringly demanded the cause. "Because," replied the infuriated husband, "you have divulged our marriage and sacrificed my honour." "Bid your attendants retire," pleaded the poor woman, "and I will satisfy you." "I come not to hear your excuses," João returned furiously, "but to punish your guilt," and at the same time his dagger found a way to her heart. She fell into the arms of her weeping attendants, while he mounted his horse and fled. The cause of all this wickedness affected inconsolable grief, threw herself at the royal feet, and cried for vengeance on the murderer. But whether she found the king averse to justice, or whether she feared the indignation of the infante, who, sooner or later, would become acquainted with the innocence of Maria, she suddenly changed her proceedings, and obtained permission for him to return to court. But there everyone shunned him — no one more eagerly than Leonora; so that, seeing his hopes of Beatrice at an end, he retired into the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, where he was soon acquainted with the bloody perfidy of the queen. Having reason to distrust his safety, he fled into Castile, his heart torn by remorse for the fate of one whom he had passionately loved, and whose bleeding image was incessantly before him.

Though on the accession of Juan I of Castile Ferdinand readily renewed the peace between the two crowns, and consented to marry his daughter Beatrice to the heir of the Castilian, his characteristic fickleness was such that he soon resolved to resume hostilities. To engage the duke of Lancaster in his cause, he sent a trusty messenger to England, Dom João Ferdinand Andeiro, who concluded a league with the Plantagenet. To conceal this negotiation from the world, especially from the Castilian, he pretended great anger with Andeiro, whom he arrested, and confined to the fortress of Estremos. During his agreeable captivity in this place, he was frequently visited by the disguised king, who was sometimes accompanied by the queen, and was made to unfold the conditions he had contracted, and solicited for his advice. As his person was unexceptionable, his address elegant, and his manners prepossessing, he soon won so far on the credulous Leonora that she became the willing partner of his lust, and still more of his ambition. In the hostilities which followed the arrival of the earl of Cambridge, he was released, and, by her influence, was invested with the lordship of Ourem.

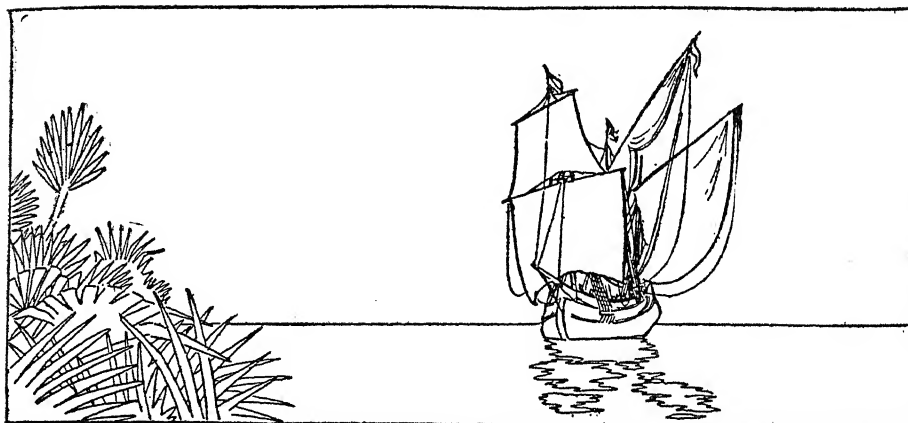
Ferdinand at length saw that the affections of his queen were estranged from him, and transferred to Andeiro. Yet — such was his deplorable weakness! — he met both with constrained smiles, and deputed both to be present at the marriage of his daughter Beatrice with Juan of Castile. On this occasion the favourite appeared with a splendour which might have become a sovereign prince, but which filled the beholders with indignation or envy.



[1381-1383 A.D.]

The perpetual sight of a faithless wife and her insolent paramour was at length too much even for the feeble Ferdinand. In the agony of his feelings he one day opened his heart to the grand-master of Aviz, who he knew hated Andeiro, and with whom he planned that minion's assassination. But his own death, the result alike of constitutional weakness of frame and mental suffering, saved him from the guilt of murder. The reign of this sovereign was one of the most deplorable that ever afflicted Portugal. The wars with Castile, — wars lightly undertaken and ingloriously conducted, — and the consequent invasions of his territory by his more powerful neighbours, impoverished his people.<sup>4</sup>





## CHAPTER II

### THE PERIOD OF GLORY AND DISCOVERY

[1383-1521 A.D.]

By the death of Ferdinand, his daughter Beatrice, queen of Castile, was the true heir to the throne of Portugal. But the kingdom, far from expecting a foreign yoke, had, on the marriage of the infanta, expressly stipulated that, in case of Ferdinand's death, the government should be vested in a regent, until she had a son capable of assuming the sovereignty; that son, too, to be educated not in Castile but in Portugal. When that event happened, she had no child — a circumstance that induced her husband to claim the crown in her right, and that filled the Portuguese with vexation. They were satisfied neither with their intended sovereign, Juan, nor with the regent, Leonora, the queen-mother, whom the will of the late king appointed to that dignity. And when, in conformity with the demands of the Castilian, Beatrice was proclaimed in Lisbon, the people either exhibited a mournful silence, or cried out that they would have no other king than their infante João, son of Pedro and Iñes de Castro, and the unfortunate husband of Maria, sister of Leonora, whose tragical fate has been recorded. But João and his brother Diniz now languished in the dungeons of Castile,<sup>1</sup> whither they had been consigned by the king, who knew that, if suffered to enter Portugal, they would speedily thwart his views of dominion. Until these princes could be restored to their country, and until Beatrice should have an heir, the Portuguese resolved to deprive the queen-mother of the regency, in favour of Dom João, the grand-master of Aviz, who alone seemed able to defend their national independence.

<sup>1</sup> A bastard daughter of Ferdinand and her husband were about the same time placed in confinement.

[1383-1384 A.D.]

Dom João, as before observed, was an illegitimate son of King Pedro, by a lady of Galicia, and born in 1357. At seven years of age he had been invested with the high dignity of grand-master, and his education intrusted to one of the ablest commanders of the order. No man could be better adapted for the conjuncture in which circumstances placed him. Cool, yet prompt; prudent, yet in the highest degree courageous; unrestrained by conscience, and ready to act either with cunning or violence, according as either appeared necessary to his purpose, he would indeed have been a formidable opponent to any sovereign, much more to one so weak as the Castilian. Seeing the favourable disposition of the people, and confiding in his own mental resources, he commenced a policy which, if at first cautious, was sure to prove efficacious. Though Leonora pretended great sorrow for her husband's death, and endeavoured, by affected mildness, as well as by an administration truly liberal, to win the popular favour, her object was penetrated and despised. But a stronger sentiment was felt for Andeiro, who directed her at his pleasure, and whose death was now decreed by the grand-master. To remove the latter under some honourable pretext from court, he was charged by Leonora with the government of Alemtejo. He accepted the trust; but, accompanied by twenty-five resolute followers, returned to Lisbon, December 6th, 1383, and hastened to the royal apartments, where he knew he should find Andeiro. The guilty pair were as usual together. João struck the count with a dagger; a knight of his suite by a second blow deprived the victim of life.

The tragical deed was hailed with characteristic acclamations by the populace, who, profiting by the example, massacred everyone suspected to be hostile to the pretensions of their new idol, among them the bishop of Lisbon.<sup>1</sup> Their mangled corpses remained long without sepulture, a prey to dogs and beings more savage than dogs. Leonora now fled from the city to Alemquer. On the way, she turned her eyes for a moment back on the towers of that capital, and, in the bitterness of her heart prayed that she might live to see it wrapped in flames. After her departure, João complained that he was unequal to oppose his powerful enemies; and pretended that he would retire into England, to pass his remaining days in tranquillity. This hypocritical policy alarmed the mob, who dreaded being abandoned to justice, and tumultuously flocked around him, insisting that he should assume the regency until Beatrice should become the mother of a son destined to rule over them. With much apparent reluctance, he accepted the proffered dignity, in the resolution of securing one much higher.

The first measures of the new regent were characteristic of the man. He published an edict in which entire pardon was promised to all criminals, whatever their offences, who should assist him in opposing the queen and the Spaniards. At this unexpected call, great numbers — amounting, we are told, to thousands — hastened from their prisons or their haunts to swell his army. Many of the great towns were persuaded to follow the example of Lisbon. The impunity with which his followers perpetrated every possible crime was too alluring not to increase the number. Murder, plunder, rape, and sacrilege were the constant attendants of this lawless party. The abbess of the convent of Castres was dragged from her cloister, poniarded before the high altar, and her body was subjected to brutalities of which not even the mention would be tolerated by the reader. In the end it was dragged to a public square, and there left. This is but one instance, among numbers

<sup>1</sup> The fate of this prelate has excited little pity among the orthodox Portuguese, such as Lemos,<sup>2</sup> because he favoured the anti-pope.

which have been preserved and among thousands of which the memory has perished, of the monstrous crimes of this interregnum; yet no attempt was made to punish them by the regent, who felt that the license thus allowed was his only tenure on the attachment of his adherents.

The king of Castile invaded the kingdom, received the submission of several places, and penetrated to Santarem, to concert with his mother-in-law, Leonora, the means of annihilating the resources of João. But that ambitious woman, who perceived that with the arrival of the king her authority had ceased, soon regarded his cause with indifference, ultimately with dislike. Her intrigues were planned more frequently to thwart than to aid his measures; so that, aware of her faithless character, he at length caused her to be arrested and to be confined in the convent of Tordesillas, near Valladolid.

As allusion has already been made [in the history of Spain, Chapter V] to the chief events of the present war, little more remains to be said of them. Though Lisbon was invested both by sea and land, and in a few months reduced to the greatest distress, it was defended with equal ability and valour by the grand-master and his captains. To end the distractions of his country, the states, early in 1385, were convoked at Coimbra. There the creatures of the regent proposed his proclamation as king, as the only measure capable of restoring internal tranquillity, and of enabling the nation to withstand the arms of Castile. They even endeavoured to show that he was the nearest heir to the crown. The issue of Inês de Castro they set aside, as sprung from an adulterous connection; and the same objection they urged against Beatrice, whose mother they considered as the lawful wife, not of the late king, but of the lord de Pombeiro. On the 6th day of April, 1385, João was unanimously proclaimed king.

João I, having attained the great object of his ambition, vigorously prepared for the war with his rival of Castile. The decisive victory gained by João at Aljubarrota; the alternations of success and failure that succeeded; the arrival of the duke of Lancaster to obtain the Castilian crown in right of his wife Constanza, daughter of Pedro the Cruel: the alliance between the two princes, João marrying Philippa, a daughter of the duke; the subsequent reconciliation between the latter and the king of Castile, cemented by the marriage of the princess Catherine, daughter of the Plantagenet, with Henry, son of Juan, and other transactions of these troubled times, have already been noticed in the history of Spain. Peace was made and broken more than once; the success lay with the Portuguese king—a success, however, attributable as much to the internal troubles of Castile after the death of Juan I as to the valour of João. When a more durable peace was concluded in 1403, the Portuguese had recovered their fortunes, and were in possession of Badajoz.

The next few years were passed in tranquillity by the king in improving the administration of the realm. His salutary severity was above all directed against murderers and robbers by profession, and also against such as took justice into their own hands. By these means he became a popular monarch with all but some of his nobles, whose discontent he had powerfully excited during the late wars. To his valiant constable, Dom Nunho Alvares Pereira, called the “holy constable,” he was more indebted than to any other cause, both for his crown and for the successful issue of the Castilian war; and he had thought no rewards too great for such services. But if he showered the revenues of whole towns and vast estates on that able and faithful man, he rewarded with a pitiful spirit the attachment of others.

[1411-1415 A.D.]

## THE TAKING OF CEUTA (1415 A.D.)

By his queen Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, João had several children, of whom five were sons. As these princes grew in years, they displayed great martial ardour, and promised to become the bulwarks of the country and throne. He had resolved to confer on them the honour of knighthood, and to celebrate the occasion by a magnificent tournament. But they despised the peaceful lists, and besought his permission to win their spurs in a nobler manner, by an expedition against the Moors. The fortress of Ceuta<sup>1</sup>, on the African side of the straits of Gibraltar, seemed to them the most inviting of conquests. Though eager to gratify a propensity which he loved, the king was at first startled by the magnitude of the proposed enterprise. The fortifications of Ceuta were strong, and defended by the bravest portion of the Mohammedan population: to reduce them a considerable armament must be prepared, and at an expense which he was loath to incur. In the end, however, he yielded to their urgent entreaties; the expedition was resolved, two confidential officers were sent to reconnoitre the place, and the royal council gave a reluctant consent to the project. But, as secrecy alone could insure its success, as a premature disclosure of the design would have enabled the pirates to increase the number of their defenders and the strength of their works, the whole peninsula was in suspense, and not without alarm at the preparations of the king. Having tranquillised the Castilians, the Aragonese, and the Moors of Granada, as to his intentions, and fearful of rousing the suspicions of the Africans, he intimated that his armament was to be led against the count of Holland. Not even the death of his queen, who was carried off by the plague,<sup>2</sup> nor his advanced years, could suspend his preparations. At length, having collected a considerable number of vessels from most parts, and been joined by adventurers from most nations of Europe, accompanied by his sons and his chief nobles, João embarked, proceeded towards the straits, and, the middle of August, 1415, arrived before Ceuta. The Moorish governor, Salat ben Salat, a man advanced in years but of undaunted courage, prepared for a vigorous defence.<sup>e</sup>

"So soon as the Moors of the town," writes the contemporary historian Azurara,<sup>d</sup> "saw the fleet nearing their walls, they placed lighted torches in all the windows and apertures to show the Christians that they were much more numerous than they thought, and thus on account of its great size, and being illuminated on all sides, the town presented a beautiful sight. This was interpreted by our men in the ships to signify that as a dying candle first throws out great light, so these men, who soon were to leave their houses and property, and many of them to quit this life, made this brave show of light, signifying their approaching end. As these Moors illuminated the town, so also our men lighted up their ships, but this they were compelled to do, not to show their vast numbers, but that each ship having cast anchor should be enabled to make preparations for the following day, and with the lanterns in front of the flag ships, and the torches the men carried in their hands, the fleet was well illuminated."

[<sup>1</sup>In the Moorish form *Sebta-a*, corruption of *Septem*, from the seven hills on which the town and fortress are built.]

<sup>2</sup> The memory of this English princess is held in high respect in Portugal: "*Tanta enim opinionis apud populum erat, quod solum illud rectè factum videbatur, quod ipsa comprobasset,*" says Matthæus de Pisano.<sup>c</sup> From the bed of death, this queen, who had all the martial spirit of her high race, delivered each of her sons a sword, with a charge to wield the weapon in defence of widows, orphans, and the country, and especially against the misbelievers.

[1415 A.D.]

A spectacle as dazzling as it was sinister, by the light of which the waters of the strait must have presented a terrible and fantastic appearance, reddened by the reflection of the torches as though a sea of blood, covered with dancing lights, separated the Moorish city from the floating Christian camp. At dawn on the following day, the 20th of August, the Portuguese were ready for the combat, and the king, João I, in a galiot went about among the ships giving the last instructions, recommending to all that Dom Henry should be the first to land.

But as the Moors had sailed out of the town to attack the Portuguese upon the landing, some of the knights became so impatient that two at least,



A PORTUGUESE WOMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

João Fogaca and Ruy Gonçalves, jumped on shore a few moments before the prince, who, however, took the lead in the battle. The movement of the Moors in coming down to the shore was a vain attempt of the younger men; the truth was that, following the example of Salat ben Salat, they were greatly discouraged, and panic increased among them upon seeing two athletes of Barbary, two giants of the desert, overcome, one by Ruy Gonçalves, and the other by Vasco Martius de Albergaria. The infante Dom Henry fancied he caught sight of his brother Dom Duarte, whom Dom João had forbidden to take part in the combat, in the thickest of the fight, and presently discovered that he had not been mistaken. The presence of the two brothers if possible raised the courage of the Portuguese still more.

Dom Henry wished to await the landing of the rest of the army, as he had been recommended to do, but Dom Duarte was of opinion that they might enter the town with the Moors, or at least seize the gate of Almina to open a passage for their men. The gate was indeed taken by surprise. Having passed the gate, the two infantes took up their position on a hill dominating the streets of the city.

Meanwhile Vasco Fernandes de Athaide had succeeded in beating down another gate, thus opening a new passage to the Portuguese soldiers, who were now divided into three bands. To have greater freedom, the heir to the crown threw off his armour, leaving merely a coat of mail; his movements being thus made freer he was able to advance rapidly, so that when Dom Henry resolved to follow his example he could no longer find him. Dom Duarte had reached the highest point of the Moorish town, called Cesto, and Dom Henry, wishing to join him, entered the street leading to it, driving the Moors before him.

The general landing of the army had not yet taken place, as Dom João I had not finished his review of the fleet. When he sent his son Dom Pedro to tell Dom Duarte to land, the answer came that he was already within



15 A. D.]

the town. The king then gave orders for all to land, and the Portuguese army, divided into four bodies, marched upon the town.

The affliction of the women who fled, pressing their little children to their breasts, and the despair with which many men concealed their property, fled carrying it with them, raised the courage of the Moorish warriors, and spurred them to make one supreme effort by which they succeeded in killing many Portuguese before them. Dom Henry would not check the fugitives in their flight, for fear of harming those who followed, who would consequently be thrown back on the Moors, but when the latter approached, followed by a few knights, he barred the way. At the same time, ashamed of their fear and encouraged by the infante's presence, the Portuguese returned to the charge, and the enemy fled in confusion. Meanwhile the Moors received reinforcements and renewed the fight, but were again repulsed by the Portuguese, encouraged by the infante.

The Moors falling back, the infante, followed only by seventeen of his men, pursued them; a desperate fight ensued, principally because the Moors attempted to carry off a Portuguese knight, whom the infante wished to recover. The Moors finally gave way, but the infante Dom Henry found himself shut in by the ruinous walls of the town, with only five knights at his side. Heroically maintaining his difficult position, he waited in vain for reinforcements; he was believed to be dead, until he was at last found by a Portuguese knight.

The infante wished to remain in his dangerous position until reinforcements reached him, but the entreaties addressed to him in the name of his father and Dom Duarte induced him to retreat; he proceeded to join his brother at a mosque. Meanwhile the sun had set, and seeing a flight of arrows resting upon the towers of the fort, the Portuguese inferred that the Moors had abandoned it. Salat ben Salat had fled with the garrison. They thereupon raised the flag of St. Vincent, patron of Lisbon, on the top of the fortress. The conquest was won; the loss on the side of the Moors was heavy, but the Portuguese loss was trifling; we will not however quote any number as great doubts exist on the subject.

On the following day the Moors appeared once more before the fortress; Dom Duarte and the constable sallied out to encounter them; these vain attacks were repeated, but the king strictly forbade his heir to take part in these skirmishes.

On the first Sunday the king decided to hear mass with his sons in the principal mosque of the town, already purified. Two bells pealed joyously from the highest tower. "How is this?" asked the major. The reply is not uninteresting: the town of Lagos had been a few years previously sacked by the Moors, who sacked the place and carried away these bells, and concealed them, but now discovered, they summoned the Christians to divine service.

The service was celebrated with great solemnity; Dom João knighted his sons, Dom Duarte, Dom Pedro, and Dom Henry. On their side João I's knights knighted various valiant noblemen of their retinue. The aim of the expedition was realised, and the African lion began to give way before the power of Portugal.

The government of the place was at first offered to a valiant knight, Martin Alfonso de Mello; and when he declined the dangerous honour, it was solicited and obtained by one of greater prowess still, Dom Pedro de Meneses, founder of the illustrious house of Villa Real. Having left a small select garrison in Ceuta, and provided for the defence of the place

[1415-1419 A.D.]

against the inevitable assaults of the Moors, João re-embarked, and with the remainder of the armament returned to Lisbon.

The heroism of the governor, Dom Pedro, and of the horsemen he commanded, is the constant and enthusiastic theme of praise by the national writers. The number of skirmishes which he was compelled to sustain during the three years immediately following the reduction of Ceuta is said, no doubt hyperbolically, to have exceeded the number of days. It is certain that during his government the place was frequently assailed by the whole power of the African Moors, aided by the fleet of their brethren of Granada. Sometimes the garrison by sorties obtained considerable booty, especially in flocks and herds. This warfare was as horrid as it was picturesque. When the Christian *hulalgos* and *Almagaveres* arrived at the village which they had been ordered to destroy, and the inhabitants of which were sure to be slain in sleep, they generally divided into two or three bands, forced the doors of the houses, which they set on fire, and either massacred such as attempted to escape, or forced them back into the flames. The sudden conflagration, the shrieks of the women and children, rendered still more dismal by the silence of night, and the bloody figures of the assailants, gazing with morbid joy on the scene before them, bore a character too demoniacal for this world. When all was finished, when the flames were expiring, and the last groan had pierced the sky, the orthodox warriors returned to the city, "praising God and our Lady for their success."<sup>1</sup>

To atone these atrocities, the Moors now gathered in formidable numbers, not merely from the neighbourhood, but from wherever the fame of their wrongs had penetrated; but they were always repulsed by the valiant count, whose exploits are represented as not much inferior to those of the *Cid* Ruy Diaz, in Valencia. The very exaggerations, however, prove that Dom Pedro was the most valiant knight of a valiant nation. But during three years no formal siege was laid to the place; a circumstance sufficiently explicable by the perpetual struggles for empire among the Mohammedan princes of western Africa. In 1419 the fortress was first invested, and by an army formidable enough to inspire the assailants with the hope of success. In the combats which ensued, the Christians, notwithstanding the loss of some brave captains, were, as usual, victorious; and "a pleasant thing it was," says the chronicler,<sup>2</sup> "to see our men, like the waters which flowed on the beach, sprinkled with infidel blood." After some days the siege was raised, with the loss of some thousands on the part of the Africans. But scarcely had the governor time to congratulate himself on this event, before he received news which filled him with apprehension—that a more formidable army, and a fleet from Granada, were preparing to move against him.

He had no time in soliciting succour from King João, who as readily granted it. Again was the place invested—this time by sea and land; and, as before, the valour of the besieged was almost superhuman. Fearing, however, that it must ultimately surrender, if not more effectually succoured, the king ordered two of his sons—the infantes Henry and João—to sail with a considerable armament. As they approached the place, they perceived that the Mohammedans had landed, and furiously assailed Dom

<sup>1</sup> Afonso, though a Portuguese, shows some pity for the poor infidel wretches: he first objects to the setting the example of mortal enmity; and still more the "abominable Mohammed" for separating so many souls from the true faith, and by subjecting his followers both to temporal death by Christian swords, and to everlasting torments by the devils. When a Christian soldier dies, intimates the orthodox sage, he has the prospect of eternal bliss; but for the cursed Moors, what remains for them but brimstone and fire, with Dathan and Abiram?

[1419-1430]

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[1419-1430 A.D.]

Pedro, who, with his handful of brave companions, was making terrific carnage among them. This formidable host was totally routed; while the infants took or dispersed the Moorish vessels, commanded by a prince of the royal house of Granada. This splendid success drew the eyes of all Europe towards this extremity of Africa. That a Christian noble, with so few companions in arms, should not only retain possession of a distant fortress against the frequent attacks of great armies, but should triumph over those armies in the open field, would appear incredible, had not equal wonders been exhibited by the knights of some religious orders. The exploits which have been already recorded were frequently equalled in the sequel by this renowned baron. In the subsequent wars, he was greatly aided by his son, a youth of the same dauntless courage as himself, who made frequent incursions into the Moorish territory, and never failed to return with abundance of spoil.

During these years, the king was constantly employed in the duties of administration. As he advanced in years, his sense of justice appears to have greatly improved; at least we hear no more of the violent acts which disgraced his early days, and which will forever tarnish his memory.<sup>e</sup>

He re-established his finances by an economy pervading his government and household. He spent little in pomp and splendour; lived frugally, and associated upon an easy footing with the friends of his youth. He was wont to say that conversation was the cheapest of pleasures; and he introduced literary pursuits amongst his courtiers. When he had replenished his exhausted treasury, João made abundant compensation to those whom the inevitable expenses of war had obliged him to offend by revoking the ample donations, with which, upon first receiving the crown, he had recompensed the services that had helped to place it upon his brow. But after satisfying these just claims, João neither lavished his money upon friends and favourites, nor hoarded it in his coffers.

#### PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

A certain employment of João's wealth ultimately produced far more glory and power, as well as opulence, to his kingdom, than his Mauretanian conquests. His third son, Henry, was the first projector of those remote maritime enterprises and geographical discoveries that opened new channels to the commerce of Europe, poured the riches of the Indies into Portugal, exalted the reputation and consequently the energies of her sons, brought immense realms in Asia and America under her sceptre, and temporarily elevated her to a rank amongst the nations of Europe altogether disproportionate to her natural extent and population.

Prince Henry was grand-master of the order of knights of Christ, instituted by King Diniz, upon the abolition of the Templars, to do battle constantly with the Mohammedans. The grand-master had accompanied his father to the siege of Ceuta, and there highly distinguished himself even beyond his brothers; which circumstance, combining with his strong sense of the duties of his sacred office, inspired him with an irrepressible desire to conquer and convert. But expeditions of the kind he meditated against Mohammedan misbelievers, whether in Spain or Mauretania, could only be undertaken by the authority and under the control of the king, and the infant in consequence turned his thoughts towards the more distant heathen. His studious disposition and especial taste for geography, astronomy, and

[1402-1418 A.D.]

mathematics also contributed, in all probability, not a little to give his schemes of conquest and conversion that direction. These sciences Dom Henry assiduously cultivated at Sagres, a seaport town he had himself founded near Cape St. Vincent in Algarve, where he drew around him learned men, travellers, and mariners. When he had speculatively satisfied himself of the possibility of sailing round Africa, of which, at that time, little beyond the northern coast was known, and of thus reaching the East Indies, he built and collected vessels in the harbour of Sagres, and sent them forth upon voyages of discovery. The despatch of the first two was de-



HENRY THE NAVIGATOR  
(From an old print)

termined so suddenly one morning, that it was believed the prince had been favoured with an especial revelation upon the subject during the preceding night, a mark of divine favour of which his great devotion, and the virginal purity of his morals, were judged to render him worthy. Dom Henry fitted out these first expeditions at his own expense; but the king soon entered into his son's views, and took the principal charge upon himself. Navigation was then still almost in its infancy. The name of Cape Nun had been given to the southernmost African promontory yet known, and terrified the imagination of the ignorant almost as much by its very sound as by the thousand superstitious terrors connected with all beyond it, particularly with the torrid zone, then supposed to be actually uninhabitable from heat. For many years Dom Henry's mariners advanced only a few leagues past the dreaded cape, and Portugal resounded with murmurs against the waste of men and money occasioned by the infante's mania for discovery. But Dom Henry per-

severed, and his father countenanced him. Gradually his captains grew more enterprising, emboldened in some measure by the assistance his astronomical science afforded them. The first, and, during King João's life, only great fruit of these labours was the rediscovery and settlement of the island of Madeira, about the year 1418. But far from appeasing the popular clamour, this only increased it; the colonising of the island being regarded as a frightful drain upon the population. Nearly about the same time the Canaries were accidentally discovered by an English ship, driven from her course. In 1402 a private adventurer, a Frenchman, named De Bethencourt, with a mixed French and Spanish crew, conquered the savage natives, and took possession of some of these islands, which his heirs afterwards sold to Prince Henry.<sup>h</sup>

Of Prince Henry it has been said that, to his "enlightened foresight and perseverance the human race is indebted for the maritime discovery, within one century, of more than half the globe." His funds were drawn from the large revenues of the order of Christ, and the Moors had told him much

[1418-1437 A.D.]

of the riches of interior Africa and the Guinea coast. He was the victim of unusual opposition and ridicule, as was Columbus, but, like him, was impervious to both. His personality is strongly to credit for the success of his couriers, for, as his biographer Major<sup>9</sup> has said: "Had that failure and that ridicule produced on Prince Henry the effect which they ordinarily produce on other men, it is impossible to say what delays would have occurred before these mighty events would have been realised; for it must be borne in mind that the ardour, not only of his own sailors, but of surrounding nations, owed its impulse to this pertinacity of purpose in him." It is to be charged against Prince Henry that he began the slave-trade, which meant so much of shame to the world. It is pleasant to recall that it was he who, forsaking the usual path of exploration, the land, began to seek the wealth of Araby and India by the water-ways and, beginning that fever of adventurous curiosity that opened new worlds south and west, with him began the age of discovery.<sup>a</sup>

By João I the era of Cæsar was abolished in Portugal, and the Christian mode of computation adopted. He died in 1433.

#### THE REIGN OF DUARTE OR EDWARD (1433-1438 A.D.)

The reign of Duarte [or Edward<sup>1</sup>], though short, was doomed to be more disastrous than that of any preceding monarch. The first great calamity was the plague which raged during the whole of his reign, and which lamentably thinned the population. But a greater was an expedition against Tangier, the preparations for which oppressed his people, and the result of which filled the kingdom with murmurs.

The restless ambition of the king's brother, Ferdinand, hurried him into this disastrous enterprise. This infante had been too young to share in the glorious conquests of Ceuta: and had not, like Pedro or Henry, obtained celebrity either by travelling or science. But he burned for distinction as much as either and proposed an African expedition. The king seems, however, to have entertained very honourable scruples as to the justice of the warfare in which he was about to engage. He proposed the subject to his theologians and the pope. The chief of the Christian world, with more reason than has dictated some papal decisions, replied that there were only two cases in which war against misbelievers could be lawfully undertaken: (1) when they were in possession of territories which had belonged to Christians, and which the latter sought to recover; (2) when by piracy or war, or any other means, they injured or insulted the true believers. In other cases, proceeded his holiness, hostilities are unjust: the elements, earth, air, fire, and water, were created for all; and to deprive any creature without just cause of those necessary things, was a violation of natural right. There was, however, one point which the pontiff omitted to notice: the obligations contracted by every Catholic sovereign, and still more solemnly by every military order, to advance the glory of God—in other words to convert or to destroy the heathen. This consideration removed the scruples of Duarte, and the expedition was resolved.

The inexperience which governed the preparations, and the accidental hindrances which impeded their completion, were regarded as melancholy omens by the people. The armament sailed on August 22nd, 1437, and on the 26th arrived before Ceuta, a place which the heroic governor and his

[<sup>1</sup> Duarte or Edward was named after Edward III of England.]

no less heroic son had continued to defend with the same success. The two infantes Henry and Ferdinand, who commanded the present expedition, perceived that instead of fourteen thousand men, the number ordered by the king, they had no more than six thousand. They were advised to solicit and wait for a considerable reinforcement, but with their usual impatience they resolved to proceed to Tangier — Henry by land, and Ferdinand by sea, so as to co-operate with each other. The former reached Tangier without accident on the 23rd day of September, and found that his brother had arrived before him. The Portuguese immediately encamped before the place, which was defended by Salat ben Salat, former governor of Ceuta, with seven thousand Moors. But as if every measure of this ill-concerted expedition were doomed to be at once imbecile and unsuccessful, after sustaining a heavy loss the besiegers, finding that their scaling-ladders were too short, were compelled to retreat with shame from the foot of the ramparts. Before others could be procured from Ceuta, the Moors of Fez and Morocco, amounting, we are gravely told, in numbers to ten thousand horse, and eighty thousand infantry, advanced to raise the siege.<sup>1</sup> Instead, however, of being alarmed at this prodigious force, Henry with four thousand of his valiant troops hastened to give them battle; but so great was the dread which this heroic little band had struck into that immense host, that none of the misbelievers daring to wait for the onset, all escaped with precipitation over the neighbouring hills! But as their numbers soon increased by new accessions to 130,000 men,<sup>2</sup> they returned, and this time fought with courage. After a struggle of some hours this vast force yielded to the impetuosity of the infante Ferdinand and fled, leaving some thousands dead on the field! These wondrous fables are not enough. Indignant at their repeated losses of their brethren, the kings of northwestern Africa combined the whole of the respective forces, and marched towards the place. The surprise of Henry was great on seeing the neighbouring hills moving with life; the number of enemies on this occasion, we are veraciously assured, being sixty thousand cavalry, and seven hundred thousand foot!<sup>3</sup> On contemplating, however, the dense and widely extended ranks of the Moslems, even he acknowledged that to withstand such a host would be temerity.

He accordingly gave directions for his little army to fall back and to regain the ships. Before this could be effected, the Africans, like tigers of their own deserts, sprang upon them, eager to drink their blood. But what could even a Portuguese do against myriads? His guards were killed by his side, and he was compelled to retreat, fighting, however, at every step, until he reached the entrenchments, where the contest became more bloody and desperate than it had yet been. Some of the defenders now fled, — for the chroniclers reluctantly allow that even a Portuguese may flee, — but the seamen on board the vessels landed, forced the fugitives to return, and the conflict was sustained during some hours with miraculous valour! Towards night it was suspended; and the infante agreed with his remaining captains that at midnight the Christians should silently leave their entrenchments, pass to the beach, and be received on board.

As the invaders were now without provisions and water, this expedient was the only hope of safety which remained to them. But even of this they

<sup>1</sup> In Portuguese computation of the number of their enemies, the reader will do well to drop one cipher; hence he will have one thousand horse and eight thousand foot; as many no doubt as were present.

<sup>2</sup> Read thirteen thousand.

<sup>3</sup> The rule before recommended of subtracting a cipher will not do in this case. The aggregate of horse and infantry must be divided by about fifty to come near the truth.



on deprived by the treachery of Martin Vieyra, Henry's chaplain, seduced over to the misbelievers, and acquainted them with the project. Every day the Portuguese are seized with indignant wonder at this incredible instance of apostasy and treason; and however great their awe in the powers of the visible head of the church, or even of the Mother, they doubt whether either or both could, even in the event of a miracle, procure for such a wretch the commutation of everlasting torments by a temporal fire.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this information, the Moors stationed a strong guard along the passages to the sea and on the beach. The following morning they advanced to the trenches; the battle was renewed, and, though old, sustained for eight hours with unshaken firmness, though with diminished numbers. On this occasion no one exhibited more valour than the bishop of Ceuta; who, as he strode from rank to rank to distribute crosses with one hand, with the other hewed down the misbelievers in a manner that called forth the enthusiastic admiration of the faithful. Now he exhorted the consecrated host, and with tears of devotion besought his children in Christ to defend the holy Body; while, at the same time, he gave a practical illustration of his meaning, by aiming another deadly blow at the rash son of perdition.<sup>2</sup>

The enemy, unable to force the entrenchments, set them on fire, and on the approach of night retired. The hours which should have been given to rest were occupied in extinguishing the conflagration, a labour more fatiguing than the conflict of the day. To allay the hunger of his soldiers, the infante ordered the horses to be killed; but as there was no meat, and as everyone raged with a burning thirst, the boon was scarcely of any use, until heaven sent a copious shower of rain. But however seasonable this relief, it could only be momentary. Famine, or death by the sword, or what was still worse, perpetual captivity, stared the unhappy soldiers in the face, when they received a proposal which they could not have expected. They were promised both life and liberty, as the condition of surrendering the artillery, arms, and baggage, and restoring the fortress of Ceuta. To men in their desperate condition this proposal was naturally not to be joyfully accepted. For their performance of the covenant, the infante Ferdinand offered himself as hostage; and was accompanied by other knights. The Moors delivered into the hands of Henry a son of the infante, Ben Salat. The Portuguese, reduced to three thousand, prepared to depart. But with characteristic duplicity, the barbarians attempted to prevent the departure of the Christians, who were constrained to fight their way to the ships.

While this once proud armament was slowly returning to Lisbon, Henry, unable to appear at court, proceeded to Ceuta, where fatigue of body and weakness of mind threw him into a serious illness. No sooner did Prince João, who was then in Algarve, hear of the illness of one brother and the recovery of another, than he repaired to Ceuta. The two infantes there agreed that, as the royal consent to the restoration of the fortress could not be expected, João should propose the exchange of their brother for the son of the African. The proposal was scornfully rejected by the king, who threatened, if the place were not immediately restored, to take revenge on the person of the infante. João now returned to Portugal, and acquainted the king with the melancholy position of affairs. The states

<sup>1</sup> In the mild Lemos's can curse this man: "*Hum malvado monstro horror de sacerdocio, e da Humanidade, Judas de seu Senhor, o inferno clerigo Martin Vieira.*"  
<sup>2</sup> This is no exaggerated description; it is taken from a contemporary chronicler.

were convoked and the subject proposed. Some deputies voted for the restoration of the fortress and the delivery of the infante; but others considered that the recovery of the prince would be too dearly purchased by the surrender of a place which had cost so much, and which might serve as a point of departure for future conquests. It was accordingly resolved that the prince should remain in captivity until the efficacy of money should be proved vain. His sufferings are represented, probably with truth, as at once cruel and humiliating. No sooner was he delivered into the hands of Salat



A PORTUGUESE NOBLEMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

ben Salat, than he began to experience the most savage barbarity. He was, at first, paraded to a dungeon at Tangier, exposed to the insults of assembled thousands, of whom some spit in his face, others covered him with filth; and, on reaching his temporary abode, his food consisted of the vilest aliments, and his bed was the hard ground. From Tangier he was transferred to Arsilla; but two hours before his departure he was placed on a platform, and again subjected to the insults of the populace. All this he bore with unshaken constancy. No ransom would be received by Salat, whose only object was the recovery of his lost seat of government. But when the king of Castile, Juan II, began to remonstrate against the detention of the infante, and even to threaten hostilities unless a ransom were

received for him, the Moor, unwilling to incur the responsibility of his charge, delivered it into the hands of his superior, the king of Fez. By that tyrant Ferdinand was consigned to a subterranean dungeon, excluded alike from air and light. After some months, however, he was drawn from his prison — doubtless, because his persecutors knew that a longer confinement would soon place him beyond their reach — and made to work, like the vilest slave, in the royal stables and gardens. In this situation he heard of Dom Duarte's death.

The victim was now subjected to new indignities. Not only was he deprived of all food, except a crust of bread once in twenty-four hours, but he was ironed, put to harder labour, and allowed no apparel beyond a rag, for the modesty of nature. The relation of his sufferings at length moved the pity of his brother Pedro, regent of the kingdom, who, in the name of the royal Alfonso, despatched commissioners to Ceuta, to receive the infante and to remit the keys of that fortress into the hands of the king of Fez. But they soon found that the barbarian had further views; that he insisted on the restoration of the place prior to the delivery of his captive; that his object was to gain possession of their persons, and be thereby enabled to dictate whatever terms he pleased. The negotiations were abruptly ended, and the ill-fated prince transferred to his dungeon, where he languished

[1438-1439 A.D.]

until 1443, when death put a period to his sufferings. The constancy with which he bore them, his resignation to the divine will, his sweetness of disposition are said to have endeared him to his jailers; and his decease to have called forth the tardy compassion of the royal Moor, who exclaimed that so good a man deserved to know the true faith. His memory accordingly is, as it ought to be, revered in Portugal; but that superstitious nation, not satisfied with the rational sentiment, represents him as a martyr and saint—as one fully entitled to the honours of semi-deification. Miracles<sup>1</sup> are recorded of him with unblushing effrontery.

The unfortunate issue of the African war, and the complaints of his captive brother, most sensibly affected the heart of Duarte, over whom, had his life been spared, fraternal affection would, doubtless, have triumphed. That he meditated another expedition, and that he commenced preparations on a formidable scale, is honourable to his heart: but his subjects were thinned by the plague; commerce was suspended; the fields remained uncultivated; the public revenues were exhausted, and the people unwilling to make further sacrifices. In 1438 he was seized by the plague at Thomar, whither he had retired to escape its fury, and in a few days he breathed his last. This prince was worthy of a better fate. He had qualities of a high order, he was enlightened, just, and patriotic; and if virtue or talent would have controlled the course of human events, his kingdom would have been happy.

## THE REGENCY OF PEDRO

Alfonso V, the eldest son of Duarte, being only six years of age on his father's death, the regency devolved, in conformity with the last will of her husband, on the queen-mother, Leonora, a princess of excellent disposition, but not exempted from the fickleness of her sex, and ill qualified to rule a fierce people. To such a people, the sway even of a native woman could scarcely have been agreeable; as a foreigner (a princess of Aragon), she was peculiarly obnoxious. Seeing this general discontent, some of the nobles, with three uncles of the king, resolved to profit by it. Of the three infantes, the hostility of João was the most bitter; of Henry the most disinterested; and of Pedro [duke of Coimbra] the most politic, the most ambitious, and consequently the most to be dreaded.

She offered to Dom Pedro to affiance his daughter Isabella with the young king—an offer which he readily accepted, but which in no manner interrupted his career of ambition. He procured, not only the sanction of the deputies to the proposed marriage, but his recognition as joint regent. At this crisis, Henry proposed in the states assembled at Lisbon that the executive should be divided—that the education of the king and the care of the finances should rest with the queen, that the administration of justice should be intrusted to the count of Barcelos, and that Pedro should be nominated protector of the kingdom. At first, Leonora opposed this extraordinary expedient to satisfy the ambition of the princes; but, finding that the populace were arming in great multitudes to espouse the cause of their favourite, she was terrified into submission.

To bring the great question to issue, the mob, the only authority then subsisting, assembled in the church of St. Dominic, and swore that, until Alfonso reached his majority, the government should rest in Dom Pedro; that if

<sup>1</sup> These miracles are alluded to by Ruy de Pina,<sup>a</sup> by Vasconcellos,<sup>f</sup> and are more boldly detailed by Lemos.<sup>b</sup> [He is called "the constant prince."]

Pedro died he should be succeeded in the office by his brother Henry, and the latter by the infante João, and that thenceforward no woman should be allowed to rule the Portuguese. Under the pretext that the education of the young king, if left to her, must necessarily be effeminate, and unfit him for his station, he was removed by a sudden decree of the same cortes, from her care, and placed under that of the regent.

The wisdom of Dom Pedro's administration daily reconciled to it some of his former enemies: he restored tranquillity, encouraged the national industry, was indefatigable in his labours, and impartial in his judgments. Grateful for the benefits he procured them, the people of Lisbon would have erected a statue in his honour, had he not rigorously forbidden them. He was too well acquainted with both history and human nature not to know that popular favour is fleeting as the wind. He observed that, if such a statue were erected, it would be one day disfigured by the very hands which had made it. We are assured, indeed, by a contemporary chronicler, Ruy de Pina,<sup>1</sup> that he had some anticipation of the melancholy fate which awaited him. Yielding to the representations of her pretended friends, Leonora openly erected the standard of rebellion, and a civil war commenced: its horrors were increased by a body of Castilians, who, at the instance of Leonora, penetrated into the kingdom, and committed many ravages. In 1445, she formally requested permission to return, to end her days with her children; and her wish would doubtless have been gratified, had not death surprised her at Toledo.<sup>1</sup>

In 1446, King Alfonso reached his fourteenth year—the period of his majority. His first acts were regarded by the people as favourable omens of his future administration, and, above all, of his disposition to cultivate a good understanding with the regent. When, in the cortes convoked for the occasion at Lisbon, Pedro resigned the delegated authority into his hands, he desired the latter to retain it till he was better able to bear the load; and he soon afterwards married Isabella, to whom he had been affianced in his tenth year. But these buds of hope were soon blighted. The regent was powerful; he therefore had enemies—and enemies the more bitter, that there was now a master who could destroy him with ease. Of these none were more vindictive or base than his natural brother, the count de Barcelos, on whom he had just conferred the lordship of Braganza, with the title of duke. No sooner did the duke of Braganza perceive the secure place which he held in the king's affections, than he began to inveigh against the character and actions of Pedro. These discourses, and the mention of his mother's wrongs, which were artfully distorted, made a deep impression on the king, who at length regarded his father-in-law with abhorrence. The regent perceived the change, and he requested permission to retire to Coimbra, of which he was duke. His request was granted; and so also was another—an act, under the royal signature and seal, approving the whole of his administration.

No sooner had he departed than a hundred reptiles darted their stings. Among the new charges brought against him was one of poisoning the late king and queen. In vain did the sage Henry hasten from his aerial residence above Cape St. Vincent, to vindicate the character of his brother; in vain did Dom Alfonso de Alameda, a nobleman of unsullied honour, join in the chivalrous act—for chivalrous it was, when the lives of both were

<sup>1</sup> By the Portuguese historians, the death of Leonora is suspected to have been violent, and the guilt is thrown on the constable of Castile, the famous Alvaro de Luna. But what interest could he have in her destruction? And when did he commit a useless crime?

[1446-1455 A.D.]

threatened as their reward, if they did not immediately retire from the court;<sup>1</sup> in vain did the latter challenge all who dared to dispute Dom Pedro's virtues to a mortal combat; in vain did the royal Isabella plead her father's innocence. Alfonso published an edict debarring all his subjects from communication with the prince, and ordering him to remain on his estates. His arms were next demanded: these he refused to surrender. The duke of Braganza now assembled his troops, and marched towards Coimbra; he was met at Penella by Dom Pedro, before whose handful of friends he fled with ignominy. Again did his daughter affectionately labour to avert his fate. In an agony of tears she cast herself at her husband's feet, and besought his pardon. Alfonso was affected: he raised his queen, whom he tenderly loved, and promised that if her father would acknowledge his crime, it should be forgiven. More jealous of his honour than fond of life, the high-spirited prince would acknowledge no crime, simply because he had none to acknowledge. The incensed monarch tore the reply into pieces, and said, "Your father wishes his destruction; he shall have his wish!"

The duke left Coimbra with one thousand horse and five thousand foot, all resolved to perish rather than permit a beloved leader to be oppressed; and on their banners were engraven, "Fidelity! Justice! Vengeance!" The king hastened to meet him with about thirty thousand veteran troops; they approached each other on the banks of the Alfarrobeira (May 21st, 1449), above which was an eminence where Pedro entrenched himself. The prince, who desperately sought the most dangerous post, and who evidently resolved to sacrifice his life, fell through a wound in the throat. The carnage which followed was terrific: the troops of the fallen infante, intent on revenging his death and resolved on their own, would neither give nor receive quarter; almost all fell on the field. The vengeance of Alfonso passed beyond the grave: he ordered the corpse of Pedro to remain on the ground, to be forever deprived of the last rites of humanity; but in a few days some compassionate peasants, whose souls might have put to shame the boasted chivalry of nobles, privately removed it, and interred it in the church of Alverca. The descendants of all his adherents to the fourth generation were declared infamous — incapable of holding any public charge. The mob of Lisbon testified characteristic joy at his catastrophe — a remarkable confirmation of his prudence in forbidding them to erect the projected statue of him.

The death of this prince — the greatest whom Portugal had lately seen — caused a deep sensation throughout Europe, and from Rome to Britain drew forth nothing but execrations against his murderers. Through the indignant remonstrances of the pope and of his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy; through the increasing influence of his daughter, whose virtues were appreciated by her husband, and whose efforts to honour his memory were at length successful; and more still through the king's conviction of his innocence, in the fifth year from this tragedy his bones were removed from their humble sepulchre, and were transferred with great pomp to the mausoleum of the Portuguese kings. In 1455, the queen suddenly sickened and died. That her death was the effect of poison administered by her enemies, and the enemies of her father — among whom were doubtless

<sup>1</sup> The address of this count to the king and council, as it appears in Ruy de Pina,<sup>2</sup> is a noble instance of magnanimity and courage. He appealed to his services — and they had been splendid — as a Portuguese noble; to his honour as a knight of England's proud order — then at least a proud one — the Garter; to his unimpeachable integrity; and to his intimacy with Dom Pedro — that he knew and spoke the truth. Neither his zeal nor the challenge with which he concluded affected Alfonso.

the detestable princes of Braganza—is the unshaken opinion of her own times and of posterity.

The disastrous captivity of the infante Ferdinand had sunk deep into the heart of Alfonso, as into that of most princes of his family; and the desire of revenge had been suspended, not abandoned. The reduction of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 had filled Christian Europe with consternation, and had led to the formation of a general league, the object of which was to drive back the misbelievers into their Asiatic wilds. Alfonso's original intention was to reduce the fortress of Tangier, the siege of which had proved so unfortunate to the princes Henry and Ferdinand; but the advice of a Portuguese noble determined him to invest Alcacer-Seguir [or es-Seghir]. In September, 1457, the armament, consisting of above two hundred vessels, and carrying twenty thousand men, sailed from the three ports, effected a junction at sea, and steered towards the Moorish coast.

The success which had attended the attack on Alcacer-Seguir animated Alfonso to renew the attempt on Tangier. Accordingly, in 1464, he sailed with another armament. The assault was repulsed with deplorable loss; the flower of the Portuguese chivalry either perished on the spot, or were compelled to surrender. The king himself had considerable difficulty in effecting his escape. For some years the result of this inglorious expedition seems to have inspired him with too much dread to renew the attempt; but, in 1471, he embarked thirty thousand men on board 308 transports, and proceeded to invest Arsilla, a fortress on the Atlantic. The king himself, and his son the infante João, were among the foremost in the assault. The Portuguese massacred all—as well those who resisted as those who threw down their arms in token of submission—with diabolical fury. In this work of destruction João was behind none of his countrymen. Terrified by the fate of Arsilla, the inhabitants of Tangier abandoned the city with all their movable substance. It was immediately occupied by the Christians, and it was formed into an episcopal see. From these successes, the Portuguese courtiers surnamed their king Africanus—an epithet which, with any other people, would have been considered a bitter satire. Throughout his operations in Africa he had shown great incapacity, and had met with unparalleled reverses; nor were the successes recently obtained in any way attributable to his valour or abilities, but to those of his generals and his son. The latter, who had attained his sixteenth year, was knighted on this occasion.<sup>e</sup>

#### ALFONSO V AND LA BELTRANEJA

We have now reached a shameful page in the history of Portugal. A vision passed through the brain of Alfonso V of uniting beneath his sceptre the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. He thought to realise his dream by marrying his niece Doña Juana, daughter of his sister Doña Juana and of King Henry IV of Castile, who would succeed to that throne upon the death of her father. But Alfonso V was too faint-hearted and too unskilful a politician for so great an ambition, which had already turned the weak head of his predecessor Ferdinand I.

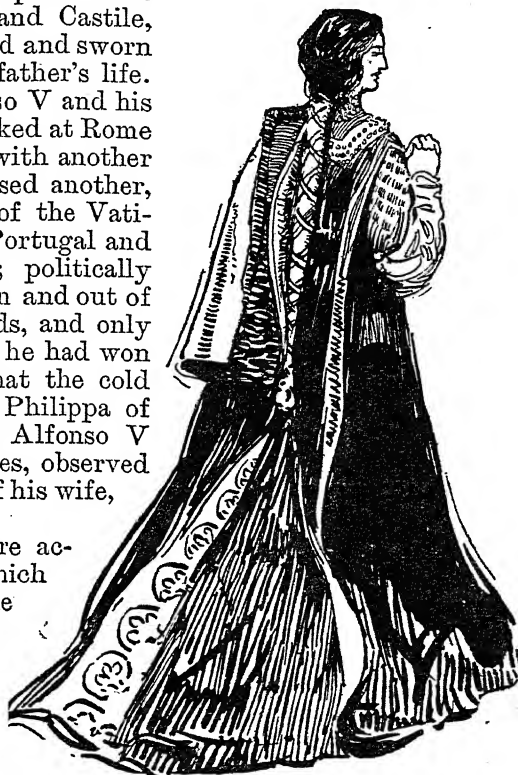
On the death of Henry IV of Castile his daughter Doña Juana inherited the throne, she having been recognised and sworn queen of Castile even during her father's life. Nevertheless Ferdinand, king of Aragon, who was married to Isabella of Castile, disputed her claim. It was then that Alfonso V sought to unite upon his own head the crown of Portugal and Castile by



[1475-1479 A.D.]

marrying his **niece**, the queen Doña Juana. The marriage took place by proxy at Palencia, in May, 1475. The pope, Paul II, was prevailed upon to grant the dispensation of consanguinity, but it was immediately revoked by his successor, Sixtus IV.

How different was the character of Alfonso V from that of some of his predecessors! How weak was his policy! The grandson of João I never even completed his marriage, in spite of his ambition to be king of Portugal and Castile, Doña Juana having been recognised and sworn queen of Castile even during her father's life. What a difference between Alfonso V and his predecessor Alfonso III, who mocked at Rome and the pontiff, married one wife, with another living, raised one queen and deposed another, in spite of the excommunications of the Vatican, creating a strong faction in Portugal and getting himself proclaimed king; politically availing himself of every element in and out of the country to accomplish his ends, and only repenting on his death-bed, when he had won everything. It might be said that the cold British blood of his grandmother Philippa of Lancaster was still dominant in Alfonso V who, according to certain chronicles, observed complete chastity after the death of his wife, Queen Isabella.



A PORTUGUESE WOMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In the meantime intrigues were active in Spain; one argument, on which great stress was laid against the claims of Alfonso V, was that Juana was the child of adultery, for the faction of Ferdinand and Isabella of Aragon never wearied of repeating that she was not the daughter of Henry IV of Castile, but of Beltran de la Cuenca [whence she was called the Beltraneja], making great sport of the dissolute morals of Juana, the sister of the king of Portugal, and mother of his bride. In the end the two factions came to blows. The fortune of war went against the Portuguese, who were defeated at the battle of Toro in 1476, in spite of the prodigies of valour performed in this battle by the infante Dom João, heir to the throne.

Defeated in battle, Alfonso V attempted to gain his end by policy, for which he had not the necessary dexterity. He bethought himself of attempting to persuade Louis XI, king of France, to take his part and give him the help and protection of his troops to place the crowns of Portugal and Castile upon his head. The king of France remained unmoved, although the king of Portugal went in person to solicit his help. In disgust Alfonso V announced his intention of visiting Palestine, and declared to his son, Prince João, whom he had appointed regent during his absence from Spain, that in such a case he should be proclaimed king. But he returned unexpectedly in 1477, and on the 14th of September, 1479, signed the peace with Castile at Alcántara — a shameful treaty, by which the king of Portugal abandoned

his wife, who was forced to become a nun and exchange the crown for the veil. She entered the convent of St. Clair in Santarem in 1479, afterwards passing to the convent of St. Clair of Coimbra, where she was professed on the 17th of November, 1480. In the meanwhile the negotiations were so prolonged that the prince Dom João lost patience, and with his impulsive disposition took upon himself to send the Castilian ambassadors two documents, one declaring for peace and the other for war, bidding them choose without further parley. Upon this final resolution, the Castilians concluded the negotiations. Greater energy on the part of Alfonso V might perhaps, even at the end of the dispute, have obtained less shameful and degrading conditions of peace. Alfonso V, crushed and reduced to the last extremity of consternation, was resolved to convoke the cortes and abdicate in favour of his son, when he fell sick of the plague at Cintra, and died in the very room of the palace in which he was born, on the 28th of August, 1481.<sup>k</sup>

With the exception of the accidental success in Africa, his reign was almost uniformly disastrous — a misfortune more owing to the deplorable weakness of his character than to any other cause. He founded the order of the Tower and Sword, under the invocation of Santiago, and was a great patron of literature; he was the first of the Portuguese kings to collect a library, and to order the national history to be treated by competent writers. His reign is, however, somewhat redeemed by the discoveries of the infante Henry, who, from his residence at Tagus, continued to fix his eyes intently on the maritime regions of western Africa. Through this enlightened prince, the Azores, with the Madeiras, the Canaries, Cape Verde, and other islands west of that great continent were discovered or colonised. The discovery of the Cape Verde, the last which illustrated the life of Henry, was owing to the enterprise of a Genoese, Antonio Nolle, who had derived a confused knowledge of their existence from the ancient geographers, and who, from some dissatisfaction with his own country, offered his services to the prince. Having coasted from Morocco to Cape Verde, he deviated westwards and soon fell in with the islands, which he called after the cape of that name.<sup>e</sup>

#### REIGN OF JOÃO II "THE PERFECT"

Dom João II was now proclaimed king. His accession to the throne was the signal for a despotic war against the aristocracy and the territorial influence of magnates. João began by convoking the cortes at Evora in 1481. A law was then published introducing a new oath to be taken by all the chief alcaides and holders of grants. The restrictions placed upon the criminal jurisdiction of the nobility, the examination of grants, and the diminution of the political influence of the nobles, produced great discontent among the aristocracy, which gave rise to intrigues, plots, and conspiracies, which João II, following the example of Louis XI of France, repressed with all severity, not sparing blood nor executions even of his own kindred. Under these circumstances João II seized the opportunity of satisfying his vengeance and giving vent to the hatred which he had nourished for many years against the duke of Braganza, Dom Ferdinand, his second cousin, who was married to his wife's sister. He had him publicly beheaded at Evora on the 22nd of June, 1483; he is now judged to have been innocent of the crime of high treason imputed to him.

[1484 A.D.]

In the following year, João II with his own hands plunged a dagger into the breast of the duke of Viséu, his cousin and brother-in-law, in the palace of Setúbal, for having conspired against him. After his death the duke was judged and condemned (a ludicrous determination of the despotic monarch) and his accomplices executed. The bishop of Évora, who was accused of being concerned in the conspiracy, was ordered to be thrown into a well; and more than eighty nobles and fidalgoes paid with their lives for the opposition which they made or were accused of making to the king's policy. It was the second time that the assassin's dagger had been publicly used in Portugal in the royal palace, by a prince upon whose brow the crown of the kingdom was to rest. Both the royal assassins were excellent kings, who governed the country diligently with courage and wisdom, raised it and gave it prosperity. In the case of the blow struck by João II, it is to be noted that it was dealt to a subject whom the king might easily have committed to a proper trial, with the certainty of finding judges who would condemn those guilty of high treason. To lessen the awful impression which these extraordinary assassinations make upon the mind and the stain which they leave upon the memory of these monarchs, it is necessary to consider the political circumstances and the ideas and customs of those times. Things inadmissible to our present civilisation were not so to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries — above all when the deed was that of an absolute king who had to render an account to God alone.

There is no doubt that the wealth and therefore the influence successively acquired by the nobility had reached such a pitch that they absorbed the best revenues of the land, vexing the people by the insolence, cupidity, and abuses which oppressed the vassals of the great lords and proprietors, though Portugal happily never suffered the terrors of feudalism. This excessive power of the nobles dated from the time of João I, who was forced to create a new aristocracy to enable him to combat the king of Castile, most of the old nobility having joined the Castilian banners, and to liberally divide the property of the crown with those who were faithful to his cause. The king afterwards endeavoured to obviate the inconvenience of these excessive grants by the "mental law" (*lei mental*), which, without revoking the grants already made to the possessions thereof and their lawful descendants, put great restrictions upon the alienation of such property. The mental law, published only in the reign of Dom Duarte, did not have the desired result; the infante Dom Pedro, during his troubled regency, was forced to make concessions which decreased the patrimony of the crown.

But the reign of Alfonso V was above all disastrous upon this point, as we have said; it was the best time for the nobles and holders of grants. To remunerate the nobles who fought at his side, the luckless pretender to the throne of Castile considered nothing too much — titles, favours, grants, salaries, pensions, allowances, marriage dowries, education of the children of nobles, gratifications for ordinary and extraordinary services, real or pretended; everything was conceded with liberality and profusion by the monarch who was called the African, but might more properly have been called the Prodigal.<sup>1</sup>

The internal political situation as well as the state of the treasury called for an effectual remedy, and it is certain that only an energetic, inflexible, and dauntless character such as that of João II could have applied by sheer force a prompt though violent remedy. It may therefore be said that the

[<sup>1</sup> João II said with justice that his father had left him "only the royal high roads of Portugal." — STEPHENS.<sup>2</sup>]

king, who was called "the perfect prince," rendered a memorable service to the country by the tremendous blow which he struck at the aristocracy and territorial power, restoring freedom of action to the crown, and liberating the public exchequer from the heavy charges and expenses placed upon it by the nobility. It is not surprising that in this struggle between the crown and the nobility the middle classes and the people should be found on the side of the king, since he made the offences, sufferings, oppression, complaints, and petitions represented by the deputies of the councils in the cortes of 1481 his chief pretext and principal weapon in declaring mortal war against the aristocracy and allying himself with the people.

Thus there was a firm alliance between the king and the people, although João II convoked the cortes only three times during his reign, and the crown and councils were generally on the best of terms. On the 12th of July, 1491, the prince Dom Alfonso went hunting in Almeirim, and as he was galloping at nightfall the horse took fright at some object which lay across the path, and fell, dragging the prince with him. He was picked up speechless and unconscious, and carried to a fisherman's hut where he died a few hours later in the arms of his father, mother, and wife.

This untimely death was a great affliction to the king and queen of Portugal, especially to João II, who thereby lost his hope of an heir to his throne; for by the death of Prince Alfonso the right of succession fell upon Dom Emmanuel, duke of Beja, the brother of Queen Leonora and of the duke of Viseu whom he had stabbed at Setubal. The thought that the crown of Portugal would pass to his wife's family oppressed and tormented João II. The probability that his brother-in-law Dom Emmanuel (Manoel), the duke of Beja, whom he hated, would be king of Portugal, put his cousin the king beside himself. In this affliction João II thought of having his natural son Jorge [or George] acknowledged as his successor. Jorge was master of the orders of Santiago and Aviz, and duke of Coimbra. But Dom João did not carry out his intention; he remembered the precedent of João I, but the clear judgment of his wife, Donna Leonora, pointed out to him that the circumstances were very different; on the one hand there was no fear of foreign invasion as in the days of the master of Aviz, while on the other hand the king had left wounds still unhealed from his war against the aristocracy. Upon the death of João II, 1495, Dom Jorge had not sufficient partisans to secure to him the crown which his father so earnestly longed to bequeath him.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Character of João II*

João was a great prince—comprehensive in his views, vigorous in the execution of his designs, as he was cautious and politic in their formation; zealous for justice, and for the happiness of his people. That zeal, however, sometimes degenerated into vengeance, and was sometimes disarmed by capricious clemency. But his character will be better conceived from a few striking traits or sayings (and many such are recorded of him) than from any description.

He placed little value on the recommendations of his nobles; and a favour solicited through their medium was almost sure to be denied. But he was fond of honouring and rewarding merit, especially when, as is generally the case, that merit was dumb.<sup>1</sup> To a faithful and valiant knight he one day observed: "You have hands to serve me; have you no tongue to request

<sup>[1]</sup> It is curious that Alexander the Great almost never rewarded those who did not ask, but took joy in granting requests.]

[1481-1495 A.D.]

a recompense?" Being at dinner, he was once served among others by Dom Pedro de Melo, a knight of great prowess, who was better fitted for handling the sword than a dish in the palace of princes, and let fall a large vessel of water, which sprinkled some of the courtiers, and made others laugh. "Why do you laugh?" inquired the king; "Dom Pedro has dropped a vessel of water, but he never dropped his lance!" He had borrowed money of a rich merchant at Tavira, to whom, at the expiration of the stipulated period, he returned it with legal interest. The merchant—a wonderful instance of disinterestedness in such a capacity—refused to receive more than the principal; João sent double interest, with the order to continue doubling it as often as the merchant should persist in the refusal. In one of his public edicts, with the view of recruiting his cavalry, he ordered all his subjects to be in readiness to furnish excellent war-horses. The churchmen pleaded their immunities, and some of them went so far as to say that they were not his subjects but those of the pope. To punish them in the way they deserved, João loudly asserted that he had never regarded them as subjects; and by another ordinance he forbade all smiths and farriers to shoe their mules and horses—a measure which soon compelled them to submit. The monopolists in corn had created an artificial famine by purchasing and piling in their warehouses all the grain in the kingdom, which they refused to sell under an exorbitant price. By a royal ordinance the people were forbidden to purchase from these dealers, and the Castilians were permitted to import in whatever quantities they pleased; the kingdom soon teemed with abundance, and the monopolists were ruined. He was a great enemy to detraction. One praised a recent feat of arms of a Portuguese governor in Africa: another attempted to detract from it by saying that the success was merely owing to chance. "That may be," observed the king: "but how is it that such chance never happens to anyone else?" Nor was he less jealous of his dignity with foreign princes than with his own subjects. A Portuguese vessel had been captured by some French pirates: he ordered all the French vessels in his ports to be seized. The owners complained to their king, Charles VIII, who immediately punished the pirates, and caused their prize to be restored. It was found, however, that a parrot had not been restored with the rest, and he insisted that every vessel should be retained until the bird were produced. In short, the success of his administration was unrivalled; he introduced industry and comfort among his people; added largely to the national resources; and was in many respects the greatest monarch that ever swayed the sceptre of Portugal.

In the reign of this prince, the Portuguese spirit of maritime enterprise was carried to a high pitch—a spirit which, except in one instance,<sup>1</sup> he was always anxious to foster. His first care was to found a fort on the coast of Guinea, which had been discovered during the preceding reign, for the purpose of maintaining a permanent commercial intercourse with the natives. The barbarian king, who had entered into an alliance with the strangers, consented to the erection of the fortress. From this moment Portugal, or rather her monarchs, derived a great revenue in ivory and gold from this unknown coast; so great, indeed, that he feared lest the vessels of other European nations should be attracted to it. To damp their avidity, he took care that the voyage should be represented not merely as difficult, but as in the highest degree dangerous; and as impossible to be undertaken in regular ships; in any other than the flat-bottomed round smacks at that time

<sup>1</sup> That of Christopher Columbus, whose proposals he himself was ready enough to receive, but was overruled by his council.

peculiar to Portugal. The secret, however, was near coming to the knowledge of the vigilant monarch of Castile, who suspected the truth, and who longed to obtain a settlement on the same coast. In the hope of a princely reward, a Portuguese captain and two pilots proceeded to Castile. They were pursued



A PORTUGUESE CAPTAIN OF THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

into the neighbouring territory by the agents of João ; and, as they refused to obey the summons of recall, two were killed on the spot, and the third brought back to Evora, where he was quartered. The severity of this punishment sank deep into the minds of the other pilots, and retained them in the service of their own sovereign. And when João heard that vessels were constructing in the English ports, unknown to Edward IV, and at the cost of the duke de Medina Sidonia, for an expedition to Ethiopia, — so the Portuguese termed all central Africa from the Nile to the western coast, — he sent an embassy to the English monarch, whom he reminded of the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and whom he easily induced to prohibit the preparations. In a short time, the fortress of São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) became a considerable city, and afterwards infamous from the traffic in slaves.

But this was only the beginning of Portuguese enterprise. The king had been taught to suspect that by coasting the African continent a passage to the East Indies might be discovered ; and he not only equipped two small squadrons expressly for this object, but despatched two of his subjects (Pedro de Covilhão and Alfonso de Payva) into India and Abyssinia, to discover the route to and between these vast regions, and what advantages Portuguese commerce might derive from the knowledge thus acquired.

#### PROGRESS IN DISCOVERY

The discoveries of Covilhão encouraged João to attempt the passage to India. One of the squadrons — that under João Alfonso de Aveiro — discovered the kingdom of Benin. The other, under Cam, was more fortunate. Crossing the equinox, he arrived at the mouth of the Congo. He coasted two hundred leagues further to the south ; but finding no cape, he returned to Congo, and was honourably received by the barbarian king, whom he disposed to Christianity, and impressed with a favourable idea of European civilisation. His departure affected the half convert, who besought him to return with missionaries, and who at the same time permitted several natives to accompany him, for the purpose of being thoroughly instructed in the new faith. By the Portuguese king and court they were received with great joy, and at their express desire were soon regenerated in the waters of baptism, he, his queen, and many of the nobles standing sponsors at the font. After a residence of two years in Europe, they returned to Congo, accompanied by several monks, some mechanics and agricultural labourers, and an embassy, headed by Ruy de Sousa. Hundreds repaired to the missionaries for instruction ; the idols were broken or removed ; a church was built, and



[1487-1497 A.D.]

mass celebrated with imposing pomp. But to renounce worldly pleasures, and to mortify the strongest passions, to forego the privilege of many wives, and the gratification of revenge — were too much for these licentious barbarians. By degrees the new faith changed, and was finally extinguished.

Though no paramount advantage was derived from the alliance with Congo, the discoveries of Cam led to a solid one — that of the Cape of Good Hope. This memorable discovery was made in 1487, by Bartholomeu Dias, an officer of equal enterprise and experience. The high winds and still higher seas which assailed this vast promontory induced the captain to call it the Cape of Storms; but João, who had more extended views, called it O Cabo da Boa Esperança, or the Cape of Good Hope. On this occasion Dias ventured little beyond the promontory; nor was it passed by any vessel until the following reign, when the famous Vasco da Gama doubled it on his voyage to India.<sup>e</sup>

*Martin's Account of Vasco and Cabral*

To Covilhão belongs the honour of marking the itinerary of the voyage to India, asserting that the East might be reached by the south of Africa. In the letters which he sent from Cairo, he said that ships navigating along the coast of Guinea would ultimately reach the extreme south of the African continent; and from thence steering east in the direction of the island of Lua, by Sofala, would find themselves on the way to India. From this and other information received, was composed the plan of the daring expedition of 1497, the destined course of which was first Kalikodu or Calecut (Calicut), as it was called then, and from thence to where Covilhão was. Vasco da Gama was chosen by Dom Emmanuel (Dom João II had then been dead three years) to command the expedition. He was a daring but prudent man, uniting the qualities of a soldier and sailor, a thing common at that time and even later. The same thing applies to Alfonso de Albuquerque, Dom João de Castro, and many others. Such a combination had a decided advantage; the separation of these qualities did not come to embarrass their plans; there was unity in the command, for the captain was likewise pilot.

The greatest judgment and prudence directed the preparations for the expedition. The information sent by Covilhão was weighed and considered and compared with that previously obtained. Charts and maps were examined, and Bartholomeu Dias himself related what had befallen him, the obstacles which he had encountered, and the difficulties which must be overcome. With his vast experience he directed the building of the ships, doing away with exaggerated dimensions, and insisting on the strength of the ribs. The discoverer of the cape was to accompany the expedition as far as São Jorge da Mina, and remain there to carry on the gold trade. There were four small ships, that they might be able to enter all the ports, explore every creek, pass over shoals, and cruise along the coast. Their construction was strong and perfect, such as had never been seen before.

They carried six freestone columns carved with the Portuguese arms, and the armillary sphere which the king had adopted as his emblem. One was to be set up at the bay of St. Braz, another at the mouth of the Zambesi, another in Mozambique, another in Calicut, and another in the island of Santa Maria. There were two chaplains on board each ship; negro, Kaffir, and Arab interpreters, ten convicts for any sacrifice that might be necessary, and finally 148 soldiers. The best pilots had been chosen and the king would allow nothing to be spared. He came in person to view the ships on the

[1497 A.D.]

stocks, and remained conversing with the masters, listening to the observations of Bartholomeu and Pedro Dias, and Vasco da Gama, who showed him the new astrolabe of Behaim, a rough triangle of wood but very effectual.

The three ships bore the names of the three archangels : *S. Gabriel* the *capitanea* of 120 tons ; *S. Miguel* (formerly *Berrio*), and *S. Raphael* of 100 tons. The name of the fourth, of 200 tons, is unknown. At the end of June they were all finished and ready, and rode at anchor before the church of Restello, where the captains watched all the night of the 7th of July. The next day, after mass, accompanied by the king and all the people of the city, singing, with tapers in their hands, they all went in procession to the shore and there embarked. Camoens says that at that moment :

But now an aged sire of reverend mien,  
Upon the foreshore thronged by the crowds,  
With lore by long experience only grown,  
Thus from his time-taught breast he made his moan :  
" O curst the mortal who the first was found,  
Teaching the tree to wear the flowing sheet."

— *The Lusíads*, Burton's translation.

Indeed many in their hearts strongly condemned the persistency of the monarchs in sacrificing men and money to this chimera of navigation. The cold and tardy prudence born of past experience did not believe success possible after so many vain attempts. The result was to prove the contrary ; but the words of the poet prophesied the fatal consequences of an empire which all, both daring and prudent, were ready to acclaim upon the return of Vasco da Gama. Camoens, watching the decline of the sun, could relate the hunger endured at sea, the tempests, shipwrecks, and wanderings in the burning lands of the terrible Adamastor, and the trail of white skeletons left across the sands of both Africas — a rosary of mournful tragedies. He could relate how waves of tyranny and crime from that Indian sea stretched out to Europe to overwhelm Portugal with their slime.

They were three months reaching St. Helena Bay (Nov. 7th). They landed to take the sun with their astrolabe, the rolling of the ship preventing them from doing so on board ; here they had several skirmishes with the natives, and set out again at last upon the 16th of November. On the 19th they came in sight of Cape Tormentoso, or of Good Hope, both names being fully justified on this occasion. For three days they were beaten about by tempests. The wind and waves were such that the upper parts of the ships were under water, and it could scarcely be seen if they advanced upon the waves or were wrapped around by them. Upon the stern castles the ships had painted pictures of the saints whose name they bore, and when the raging sea flung the pictures on to the tilt the crews grew pale with horror. It was a bad omen, for it seemed as if they were deserted by the divine favour. Fierce and angry seas washed over the poops, dashing the boats against the sides of the ships and damaging the helms. They furled the sails, cut down the tilt, and began to throw the cargo overboard. At last the weather cleared.

Having doubled the cape, they entered the bay of St. Braz, where the calms detained them until the 7th of the following month. Navigating for a week along the southern coast of Africa, on the 15th they reached the Chaos Islands, the farthest point reached by Bartholomeu Dias. Then they began to follow the instructions of Covilhão, the pilot absent in the lands of the mythical Prester John, of whom they were in search. They wished

3 A.D.]

eed along the coast, but the currents, which were a great danger, drove them towards the vast and unknown southern sea. The sailors laboured in vain; Vasco da Gama, like an inexorable destiny prudent in his counsel, overcame the currents and revolts.

At last they got out of the "sea of darkness" (*mar tenebroso*), and then could behold the terrific cape be looked upon as overcome. The tempests and currents grew still. By day there was calm with the sky of purest blue; at night, several times the light of S. Pedro Gonçalves, the St. Elmo of Lisbon, shone above the tops of the masts. All promised fair weather. They climbed the masts to see the marks of the miracle, and brought back with devotion the droppings of green wax left by the saint.

January 10th, 1498, they touched land at Inhambane, and had some commerce with the Kaffirs; on the 22nd they had reached Quilimane (Delagoa Bay), where "noblemen" came on board to visit them, with turbans bedecked with silk upon their heads.

India was reached for the first time. They saw men of divers nations, traces of that distant civilisation so eagerly sought for. They had come from the African sea, and from the heavy shadow of the dark continent.

Yet these "noblemen" whom they gazed upon almost with love, regarding them as brothers, were to be their cruellest enemies. They landed at Mozambique on the 2nd of March. Around the fleet at anchor came many native vessels, without decks or sails. The Moors came to trade with them.

The sultan in person wished to compliment Vasco da Gama, who invited him on board. The sultan proved perfidious, and the fleet, without orders, cruised along the coast to Mombasa (on the 8th of April), where Vasco alone saved it from the plot which the Moors had prepared against them. They had already recognised dangerous competitors in these men who came over the sea to these regions, which had until then been the coveted possession of Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia. Saved by a miracle, Vasco da Gama went on to Melinde (15th), where the sultan received him; but not trusting these "noblemen" of Zanzibar, he availed himself of a Moor who had remained on board at Mozambique, and who chanced to show the way to Calicut. They put to sea, and in twenty-seven days (from the 1st of April to the 19th of May), they were in India. The voyage had lasted ten months and eleven days.

It was now that their wonder reached its limit. Everything they had seen as yet gave not a distant idea of what they now saw upon their land. The natural pomp and splendour of the East filled them with surprise and astonishment. In their religious ignorance they saw everywhere the Christ of Prester John. The natives adored the Virgin Mary, and the Portuguese also prostrated themselves before our Lady, in the person of Gauri, the Hindu goddess, Sakti of Siva, the destroyer. This confusion, increased by the fact of not understanding each other's speech, occasioned scenes amusingly comical. Some who were doubtful, remarked that if the idols devoured their prayer was intended for God alone, quieting their consciences by this mental reservation. To increase their amazement, there came to them a Moor who spoke in Portuguese, "Good luck! good luck! rubies, many emeralds!"

From Lisbon to India was but a short distance, for the feelings have no boundaries. They were all Christians, they also had kings. The world was the same and man the same everywhere. The ingenuous way in which the greatest things were accomplished is the greatest proof of the heroic strength of the men of the Renaissance.

[1498-1500 A.D.]

At that time India — and by that name we designate all the coasts and islands included between the meridians of Suez and Tidore, and between 20° south latitude and 30° north latitude, the scene of the Portuguese campaigns — in India, we say, foreign races held a kind of dominion resembling in all things that which afterwards belonged to the Portuguese — a commercial-maritime monopoly, and consequently, factories, colonies, and states. The races they were about to dispossess of this dominion were the Arabs, the Ethiopians, Persians, Turks, and Afghans, who, coming down from the Red and the Arabian seas, and confounded in the religious wave of Islam, had subjugated the peninsula from the Indus to the Ganges, and eastern Africa from Adal to Monomotapa. Extending themselves to the extreme east, they reached as far as Cambodia and Tidore in the Moluccas, across Arakan and Pegu, from the peninsula of Malacca (Malay peninsula), and from Burma and Shan (Siam) into the continent, through Sumatra and Borneo and the middle of the Sunda archipelago. The Portuguese called all the natives Moors, a generic term already in use in Europe to denote the followers of Islam, and therefore now adopted when, having come from afar and traversed so many seas, they again found themselves face to face with the Turk, the opponent of the Christian throughout the world.

"The devil take you! What brought you here!" was the compliment addressed to the Portuguese by a Moor in Calicut; and in Mozambique and Mombasa the Moors (we will henceforward use this word as a generic term, as aforesaid) persuaded or forced Samundri Rajah (Zamorin) king or count (India was under a pseudo-feudal rule) of Calicut, to exterminate the Portuguese. Calicut was the commercial empire of the coast of Malabar, and the dominions of the rajah formed the so-called kingdom of Kanara.

It was an easy matter no doubt to persuade the ruler that Vasco da Gama was a pirate and his king a myth; certainly the Moors of Calicut defined, in advance and unawares, the Portuguese dominion, which differed from common piracy only in that it was rapine organised by a political state. Convinced or constrained, the rajah ordered the navigators to be pursued, but they embarked and defended themselves, August 30th. After remaining some months in the island of Anjediva, upon the coast, Vasco da Gama resolved to return and set sail for Portugal on the 10th of July, 1498. A year later on the same date he reached Lisbon. Great was the enthusiasm. Dom Emmanuel also had his Indies, and Portugal her Columbus. But what tidings of Prester John? And what of Covilhão? None. The navigator had succeeded in overcoming the cape and discovering India, but he had not succeeded in solving the enigma which at that time had baffled their search for three centuries. This was of small account in history. The essential point was the solving of a greater enigma — that of the "dark ocean." Little was now wanting; in twenty years there would not remain an unknown corner of land in the whole circumference of the globe, nor a span unexplored in the vast expanse of seas. "Under the wild waves to learn the secrets of the earth, and the mysteries and illusions of the sea," the Portuguese with heroic curiosity took in their hands the future of Europe and of the world. In the year after the discovery of India, Pedro Alvares Cabral, who was sent thither with an imposing fleet, could not resist the temptation of curiosity. Steering east in the Atlantic a question constantly tormented him — what lay to the west? In that direction Columbus had discovered the Indies in the northern hemisphere; were there not perhaps Indies in the southern hemisphere also? He steered west to explore — what were a few months more or less in the long journey to the east? Thus he discovered Brazil; the western

[1500 A.D.]

land lay from the extreme north to the extreme south, extending through the two hemispheres. Not till then could it be said that America was completely discovered (1500).

The news of the discovery of new lands made little impression in Lisbon; the fervent desire of the court was the discovery of the Prester, the enchanted Prester John, in order to make a good alliance with him and bring to Portugal a little at least of those good things which Vasco da Gama had seen with his own eyes, the report of which inflamed the whole nation with cupidity. Cabral was sent for this purpose, not to discover lands; the names in their repertory were now barely sufficient to designate the islands, capes, ports, bays, coasts, and continents. Their desires were set on other things; other hopes seethed within them: "Good luck! good luck! Many rubies, many emeralds!"

It was resolved to send a fleet to India, for now that the way was known there was nothing to fear and no reason to diminish the number or tonnage of the ships. Pedro Alvares Cabral was appointed admiral of the fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships and carried twelve hundred men. The fleet raised anchor in the Tagus on the 9th of March, 1500. The shouts of the sailors as they worked at the capstan in unison, a sound as sad and mournful as the sea; the low murmur of the cables in the hawses; the whistle of the masters as they directed the manœuvres; the many-coloured flags flying in the breeze; the sails half-furled upon the masts, made a vivid picture of the nation which in the year 1500 was also setting out, shriven and well-disposed, upon this long voyage of a little more than a century, full of disease and shipwreck, at the end of which waited a tomb vast as the sea and silent as the ocean in the funereal calm of the tropics.

Cabral's voyage, besides beginning the Portuguese dominion in India, had really two desirable results: it swept away the two legends of Prester John and of the "sea of darkness." He discovered Brazil and returned to tell Emmanuel that the supposed emperor of the East was a miserable black heathen king, intrenched in the inaccessible mountains of Abyssinia. In pursuit of a myth, drawn by an abyss, Portugal discovered the continents and islands of the Atlantic and reached India. For the sake of an illusion they achieved the reality which struck the world with wonder. The world is a mirage and men are but shadows borne upon the cunning winds of destiny. With the lands discovered and the seas ploughed from east to west, it still remained to unite these two halves of the known world, and sail round them, to make sure that they lay whole and complete in the hands of men. This was the effect of the voyage of Magellan (Magalhães) twenty years after. The sea was dark no more, the great conquest was complete. But a new enterprise now revealed itself—to devour what was discovered, to assimilate the world. The whole of Portugal embarked for India in Cabral's fleet.

#### THE CONQUEST OF INDIA

On the 13th of September of the year 1500, Cabral reached Calicut. He went, not like Vasco da Gama, as a discoverer, but as the emissary of the noble Portuguese monarch, the bearer of his letters and proposals of alliance to the rajah of Calicut. As such he was received in a solemn audience. The Portuguese, donning their richest clothes and their best and brightest arms, thought to make an impression upon the Eastern potentate by their riches; but the representatives of Europe, poor and strong, were to be

outdone by the magnificence of opulent India. The polish of their arms was dimmed by the blaze of precious stones "whose rays were blinding."

The rajah was borne in a palanquin, or litter, upon the shoulders of his nobles, reclining upon silken cushions among coverlets worked in gold thread, falling in folds and edged with borders encrusted with precious stones. The litter advanced slowly, under a silken canopy fringed with gold, and within this double tabernacle appeared the black rajah, covered with precious stones. It was blinding to look upon him. On each side of the canopy were pages stirring the air with fans of peacock feathers, and beside the palanquin came those who bore the insignia of royalty—the sword and dagger, the foil of gold, the symbolical lily-flower, the ewer of water, and finally the cup into which the king spat the betel, the chewing of which makes the teeth pink, and gives "a most sweet breath."

Throughout the whole length of the procession and bringing up the rear were bands of musicians rending the air with their drums, tom-toms of gold and silver suspended by cords from poles of bamboo, and enormous trumpets, some straight and some curved, raised in the air, which gave the musicians the appearance of elephants with golden trunks, their flags encrusted with rubies and emeralds.

The reception was conducted with solemnity on either side, although they could not understand each other well; the scribes displayed in vain their long palm leaves covered with writing; the Portuguese by signs indicated their wish to establish factories there. The scribes gradually came to understand, and distrusted; and the Portuguese also distrusted the smiles of the rajah. In spite of this, however, their request was granted, and Cabral founded the first Portuguese factory in India at Calicut. Afterwards the Moors came and exclaimed against the intruders who were despoiling them, and, favoured by the natives, fell upon the factory, murdering all the Portuguese therein—fifty in all. Then followed the terrible vengeance of the admiral. He took ten ships of the Arab merchants, and put the crews, five hundred men, to the sword; bombarded the city, and set it on fire.

The burning of Calicut on the 16th of December, 1500, was the gloomy dawn of modern oriental history. In the middle of January (1501) Cabral loaded his ships with pepper and cinnamon and returned to the kingdom. Of the thirteen ships with which he set out a year before, barely three returned with him. The terrible enemy though conquered was not subdued, and this first expedition to India, the first act of a tragedy of more than a century, sketched out the course of its action; assassination, fire, massacre, shipwreck; the sword and pepper; the soldier's arms in one hand, the merchant's scales in the other—a modern Carthage; and in the background the open maw of the sea, ready to devour men, ships, and treasure; a perennial fount of vice pouring forth torrents of wickedness.

To inflict a terrible chastisement upon the rajah and to consolidate the factory of Cochin by fortifying it, was the object of the second fleet which set out from Lisbon in February, 1502, under the command of Vasco da Gama, the implacable captain. The story of the voyage is full of horror; and the revenge of the captain a proof of the sanguinary, impassive, and cruel coldness which does indeed exist in the almost African temperament of the Portuguese. Obliterated in peace and subjection it ever bursts out afresh in dominion, victory, and warfare. If such sentiments, alive in the soul of Gama, inspired his actions, his campaign followed no plan, nor could his rude spirit entertain the wide views of the statesman. If he had any plan in view, it was to amaze India by the cruelty of his deeds, and dominate it



[1502-1503 A.D.]

by the terror of his slaughters. Navigating the Indian seas, Gama met a ship of Arabian merchants going to or coming from Mecca. Besides the crew the ship carried 240 men, passengers with their wives and children. This was on the 1st of October, 1502; "which I shall remember all my life," wrote the pilot, still horror-stricken at the remembrance of the cowardly way in which the ship was set on fire with all whom it contained, so that every soul perished in the flames or in the sea. Well pleased with himself, the captain steered for Calicut. He intimated to the rajah that he must expel all the Moors, who numbered five thousand families, the richest in the city; saying that any servant of the king Dom Emmanuel was worth more than the Zamorin, and that his master had power to make every palm tree a king! As was to be expected, the rajah refused. Then the captain, who upon anchoring had captured a considerable number of merchants in the port, ordered their hands and ears to be cut off, and crowded them into a boat in which they drifted ashore with the tide, bearing Gama's answer to the refusal of the wretched prince.

Then he began the bombardment, November 2nd. The city was in flames for the second time, and the lamentations of the people answered the cynical and ferocious laughter of the sailors sheltered behind the sides of the ships near the guns which vomited fire. This was a foolish, cruel, and cowardly deed; for the short lances and arrows of the natives could not measure themselves against the grenades fired from afar on board the ships. Gama left part of his fleet in India under the command of Vincente Sodre, as eminent and celebrated a man as the admiral, whose uncle he was.

The Portuguese dominion thus assumed from the very first the twofold character which it never lost in spite of all subsequent attempts at law and order. On the sea was anarchy and theft; on shore, a succession of blood-thirsty depredations. Vasco da Gama showed how to rule by fire and sword; Sodre showed how to reap a harvest at sea by boarding the ships of Mecca. Piracy and pillage were the two foundations of the Portuguese dominion, its nerves were cannon, and its soul was pepper. When Gama returned from his second voyage a third fleet left Lisbon (April, 1503) with Alfonso de Albuquerque and Duarte Pacheco on board. They went to Cochin to assist the rajah in his war against the rajah of Calicut, and built the first fortress in India. Albuquerque returned to the kingdom; Pacheco remained at Cochin with the troops and ships prepared for the attack. The hero—for he fought like a wild beast in his den of Kambalaan, nobly, disinterestedly, and fiercely—said at once that now all lay with the artillery. This will explain the



A PORTUGUESE CAPTAIN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

possibility of the resistance of Pacheco's seventy men, feebly assisted by the natives, against the fifty thousand attributed to the army of Samundri, rajah of Calicut. But the artillery alone would not have sufficed to repulse the solid body of the enemy's columns, if the courage and wonderful rapidity of the marches, the ubiquity, so to speak, of the first soldier-hero of the East, had not supported the powerful means of defence. The fleet of Lopo Soares Albergaria brought back Pacheco to the kingdom in 1505. Being a simple and upright man he returned rich in wounds and poor in money and diamonds; he had remained in the captaincy of São Jorge da Mina, from whence he was brought in irons because of the accusations brought against him, to languish in prison for a long time and to die at last in poverty and oblivion. "The fate of this hero," says Goes,<sup>n</sup> "was of a nature to warn mankind to beware of the inconstancy of kings and princes and their small remembrance of those to whom they are bound." And yet Dom Emmanuel owed the consolidation of his still incipient empire in the East to this man.

Dom Francisco de Almeida was the man chosen to be governor of India, now constituted a viceroyalty. He is the first of the successive figures presented by the Portuguese empire of the East; and the first of the three most notable viceroys. The government of India formed three great men — Castro, who may be called a saint; Albuquerque, to whom the name of hero is better adapted; and Almeida, a wise administrator and intelligent factor. The viceroy, his plans matured by observation on the spot, and the first naval war with which he was received by the unrepentant rajah of Calicut, mentally completed his system of government. "Let all our strength be at sea," he said; "let us refrain from appropriating the land. The old tradition of conquest, the empire of such distant lands, is not desirable. Let us destroy those new races (the Arabs, Afghans, Ethiopians, and Turks) and reinstate the ancient races and natives of this coast; then we will go further. Let us secure with our fleets the safety of the sea and protect the natives in whose name we may practically reign over India. There would certainly be no harm in our having a few fortresses along the coast, but simply to protect the factories from surprise, for their chief safety will lie in the friendship of the native rajahs placed upon their thrones by us, and maintained and defended by our fleets. What has been done so far is but anarchy, scarcely an outline of government, a system of murder, piracy, and disorder which it is necessary to remedy." The difficulties seemed to him more formidable in that "the past warfare was with beasts, but now we are to fight Venetians and the Turks of the sultan." The former impunity disappeared as soon as the Venetians and Egyptians launched a powerful fleet upon the Red Sea, with artillery.

Dom Francisco de Almeida advanced up the coast, leaving behind him a trail of ashes and blood which everywhere marked the passage of the Portuguese. The Egyptian admiral still feared the viceroy, and as soon as the fleet had anchored and grappled with his ships, he meant to cut the cables and drift ashore, dragging the Portuguese with him, where the Indian launches and *fustas* might fall upon them furiously. But the viceroy perceived the snare and ordered the anchors to be prepared in the stern, and the enemy's ships went ashore alone. It was the 3rd of February (1509), the feast of St. Braz, at noon. The confusion of races gathered in that fight was inextricable; the banners of the cross and crescent flying from the masts covered the most extravagant sentiments and varying beliefs. The truth is that they fought not for faith or fatherland, but furiously disputed the

[1509 A.D.]

spoils of India ; and covetousness can make brothers of men of every faith and children of every race. There were French and Germans as bombardiers on board the Portuguese ships ; there were Indian Brahmans and even Moors. On the other side in the confusion of ships there might be found from the Nubian to the Arab ; from the Ethiopian to the Affran ; there were Mussulmans of every caste ; Persians and *Rum*<sup>1</sup> of Egypt — mercenaries from all parts to whom this generic name was given. Besides the heathen multitude was the Venetian renegade or Catholic — but above all the merchant, who had come with artillery to the Indian Sea by order of his republic to defend the interests of his associates in the commerce of the East. Around the confused bands on board the fleet of the Rum gathered the dark mass of Indians in their junks, from Diu in Guzerat and from Calicut in Kanara.

Once more the waters of the Indian Sea were stained with crimson. Countless numbers perished. The wounded floated, crying for mercy and receiving bullets. At last, after the scenes and episodes proper to such tragedies, the victory fell to the viceroy who destroyed Rum and Indians. This naval victory had a higher importance even than the victories of Duarte Pacheco in Cochin, for the Indians, observing and considering, recognised that the Portuguese forces were invincible not only to themselves but also to the Rum of Egypt and the artillery of Venice. The viceroy remembered that he had lost his son, and "he went and sat under the awning, a handkerchief in his hand which could not stem his falling tears." All thronged to console him, and recovering his spirits he arose, drying his tears and calling them his sons, and said that this grief had pierced and must ever remain in his heart, but bade them rejoice at the gallant vengeance which God in his mercy had bestowed upon them ! But to complete his vengeance for the death of his son, he ordered prisoners to be tied to the mouths of the guns, and the heads and scattered members of these unfortunate wretches were thrown into the city of Kanara like shot. The death of his son disturbed his sound judgment and transformed his former opinions of a statesman to blood-thirsty furies, attested by the devastation of the coast of Guzerat. He yielded also to the intrigues and slanders of the captains who had come from Ormus, recently conquered by Albuquerque and ruled with the terrible wildness of his titanic enterprises. They scoffed at the viceroy who had just finished his term of office, and at Albuquerque, already appointed from Lisbon to succeed him ; and treacherous accounts of the excesses of the wise Almeida had already reached the court. The dungeon of Duarte Pacheco awaited him in payment of his labours. However, on his journey to the kingdom he landed on the coast of Kaffraria, and was killed by the natives with assegais and javelins.

His plan of government, though wise, was chimerical, for India itself was insanity. Only a man of genius like Albuquerque could make the doomed enterprise great. Only a saint like Castro could save the Portuguese valour from the stain of positive ignominy. Dominion, as Almeida conceived it, was not to despoil ; it was armed protection extended to a commerce, free on one side, and the monopoly of the state or appanage of the crown on the other. The captains and governors should be simultaneously commercial agents of his majesty, the high trader in pepper. This required a stolidity of which the Dutch alone were capable and that at the cost of salaries which outweighed temptation. Besides this, the Portuguese flung themselves

[<sup>1</sup> The *Rum* was a term applied by the Arabs to all subjects of the Roman Empire and continued to be the designation of the inhabitants of western Christendom after they had ceased to yield obedience to the "king of Rum," the Byzantine emperor.]

famished upon this eastern banquet, as did the races of the north, centuries before, upon the banquet of Gaul, Italy, and Spain. No one could have wrenched from their fangs the palpitating flesh which they so anxiously devoured; the fatal consequences which Dom Francisco de Almeida wisely foretold were inevitable. Albuquerque in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca, established on land the limits of the empire, which in his predecessor's judgment should have floated vaguely on the waves.

King Emmanuel forgave everything, crimes, robbery, incendiarism, and piracy, so long as they sent him what he most longed for, curiosities, novelties and riches, to fill his palaces in Lisbon and dazzle the pope in Rome with his magnificent embassy. "Send pepper, and lie down to sleep," said Tristan da Cunha later on, writing from the court in Lisbon to his son Nuno, governor of India. The sack of the East — such a name best fits the Portuguese dominion — was already ordained in Lisbon.<sup>m</sup>

Albuquerque, like Almeida, for all his splendid services, was rewarded with envy and ingratitude. His abilities, his bravery, his successful administration made the courtiers fear or pretend that he aimed at an independent sovereignty in those regions; and by their representations they prevailed on the king to recall him. Dom Lopo Soares was despatched from Lisbon to supersede him. But before his successor arrived, he felt that his health was worn out in the service of his country; he made his last will, and died at sea, within sight of Goa. However violent some of his acts, his loss was bewailed by both Indians and Portuguese. He certainly administered justice with impartiality; laid no intolerable burdens on the people; restrained the licentiousness of his officers; and introduced unexampled prosperity throughout the wide range of the Portuguese establishments. If to this we add that the qualities of his mind were of a high order, that he was liberal, affable, and modest, we shall scarcely be surprised that, by his enthusiastic countrymen, he was styled the Great. It is probable that no other man would have established the domination of Portugal on so secure a basis: it is certain that no other, in so short a period, could have invested the structure with so much splendour. His remains were magnificently interred at Goa, and his son was laden with honours by the now repentant Emmanuel — the only rewards of his great deeds (1515).

Under the successors of Albuquerque, the administration of India was notorious for its corruption, imbecility, and violence, and in the same degree as wisdom and justice were discarded, so did the military spirit decay.<sup>e</sup>

#### EMMANUEL THE FORTUNATE

When Dom Emmanuel I had been proclaimed king in the town of Alcacer on the 27th of October, 1495, he had reached the age of twenty-six. He had found everything prepared for a quiet and prosperous reign; his predecessor, João II, had smoothed the way for him by overthrowing the power of the nobility. The conciliation of the *fidalgos* and great lords was easily effected.

Two matters seriously occupied the new king during the first years of his reign — his marriage, and the discovery of India. In the hope that he or his descendants would one day unite the crowns of Spain and Portugal, Dom Emmanuel desired to marry the widow of his nephew. The Catholic sovereigns, having first approved the king of Portugal's request, appointed as their agent Ximenes, who was afterwards cardinal. The marriage of the king, Dom Emmanuel, and Doña Isabella of Castile being agreed upon,

[1496-1500 A.D.]

a treaty was made at Burgos, on the 30th of November, 1496, in which large dowries in money were promised on both sides.

In 1497, the king sent his delegate to Castile to continue the negotiations, and a new article was introduced into the treaty, to which the Catholic sovereigns attached extraordinary importance, going so far as to make it a question of annulling the treaty of Burgos and breaking off the marriage. This article was that Dom Emmanuel should expel from his kingdom and dominions all the Jews or Moors who refused baptism, and all those who had been found guilty of heresy or apostasy, the clause to be fulfilled before September, 1497. Such was the origin of the greatest political mistake and blackest injustice perpetrated by the "fortunate" king, Dom Emmanuel, which left an indelible stain upon his happy reign; for the ambition of eventually uniting the crowns of Portugal and Castile cannot be considered a sufficient excuse. Dom Emmanuel fulfilled this treaty, expelling from his kingdom all the Jews and free Moors who refused baptism, including all those unfortunates who, banished from Spain in 1492 by the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, had fled to Portugal thinking to find in that country a refuge from the intolerance and tyranny of Castile. In October, 1497, the marriage of King Emmanuel of Portugal with the princess Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and widow of Prince Alfonso, son of João II, took place in the town of Valencia de Alcantara.

It seemed at first that Dom Emmanuel's lucky star would not abandon him in his relations with Castile. Indeed the kings of Portugal and Castile were still at Valencia de Alcantara when they received the news of the unfortunate death of the prince Don Juan, heir to the crown of Castile. By this event Doña Isabella, queen of Portugal, wife of Dom Emmanuel, became heir presumptive to the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Leon. This fact, which plunged the kingdoms of Spain in consternation, filled Dom Emmanuel with joy and promised to satisfy his ambitions more promptly than could have been expected.

But his wife was advanced in pregnancy. In spite of her state, she resolved to continue her journey and go to Saragossa to be sworn heir to the throne of Aragon. Here she was seized with the pains of child-birth, and on the 24th of August, 1498, brought forth the infante Dom Miguel, in that city, his birth costing his mother her life. And Miguel died two years later.

Thus the dream of Dom Emmanuel vanished like smoke. The famous expulsion of the Jews and New Christians, an iniquitous measure, unwise and unpolitic, price of the marriage with Doña Isabella, was not a happy augury. Once more the attempt at an Iberian union under the sceptre of a Portuguese king by matrimonial means had failed.

Dom Emmanuel did not completely lose hope in his relations with Castile<sup>1</sup> by the death of his wife and son. The Catholic sovereigns also seemed determined on an alliance with Portugal. Without loss of time, in the same year, 1500, Dom Emmanuel sent Ruy de Saude, of his council, as ambassador to the sovereigns of Castile with full powers to request the hand of the infanta Doña Maria, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and consequently sister-in-law of the king of Portugal. The heirs to the crown of Castile were Doña Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and her husband, son of the emperor Maximilian and the empress Mary of Burgundy. The princess of Castile had already a son at that time, Charles, who was born at Ghent in Belgium on the 24th of February, 1500, and was afterwards

[<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese have a saying: "*De Castella nem bom vento nem bom casamento*" (From Castile neither good wind nor good wedding).]



[1504-1520 A.D.]

Charles I of Spain and V of Germany. Queen Isabella died on the 25th of November, 1504, and King Ferdinand on the 23rd of January, 1516. The throne of Castile was lost to Dom Emmanuel. The crown of Spain was about to pass to the house of Austria. The wedding to Maria nevertheless took place at Alcacer-do-Sal on the 30th of October, 1500.

In the same year, 1500, Gaspar Cortereal went to North America and discovered the land of Labrador, which was then called Cortereal, getting beyond 50° north latitude. He returned to Portugal, and repeated his voyage in 1501, but was never heard of again. His brother, Miguel, went in search of him, but he also disappeared. Other lands and islands were discovered in the time of Queen Maria. In 1501, João da Nova,<sup>1</sup> on his voyage to India, discovered the Ascension Island in the Atlantic, and the island which bears his name on the coast of Africa. On his return journey in 1502 he discovered the island of St. Helena in the Atlantic. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci made voyages to America by order of Dom Emmanuel in 1501 and 1503, discovering Rio de la Plata and Patagonia. This navigator had the glory of giving his name to the group of lands discovered by Columbus, Cabral, etc. In 1506 were successively discovered: by Tristan da Cunha, the islands of that name in the Atlantic; by Ruy Pereira Coutinho and Fernão Soares, the western and eastern coasts of the island of Madagascar; in 1507, the Maldivé Islands by Dom Lourenço de Almeida; in 1509, by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Malacca (Malay Peninsula) and Sumatra; in 1512, by Francisco Serrão, the Molucca Islands in the Chinese seas; in 1513, by Pedro Mascarenhas, the island to which he gave his name and which is at present called Réunion, in the Indian Ocean; in 1516, Duarte Coelho discovered Cochin-China; in 1517, Fernão Peres de Andrade went to China.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE GREAT VOYAGE OF MAGELLAN

The celebrated line of demarcation between the right of discovery and conquest was not so clearly understood as to avoid disputes between Dom Emmanuel and his brother sovereign of Castile. His splendid empire in the East had long attracted the jealousy of Ferdinand, who had frequently attempted, but as frequently been deterred by his remonstrances, to share in the rich commercial advantages thus offered to the sister kingdom. After the death of that prince, a disaffected Portuguese who had served Emmanuel with distinction both in Ethiopia and India, and who was disgusted with the refusal of his sovereign to reward his services with becoming liberality, fled into Castile, and told the new king, Charles V of Austria, that the Molucca Islands, in virtue of that line, rightfully belonged to Spain. This man was Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães), whose name is immortalised in the annals of maritime discovery. He proposed a shorter route to the Moluccas than the passage by the Cape of Good Hope — the route by Brazil: he well knew that the American continent must terminate somewhere, and his notion of the earth's rotundity was sufficiently just to convince him that a western voyage would bring him to the same point as the one discovered by Dias and Vasco da Gama. In August, 1519, he embarked at Seville, with five vessels, over the crews of which he was invested with the power of life and death. On reaching the Brazilian coast, he cautiously proceeded southwards, and in September, 1520, arriving at a cape which he called after

[<sup>1</sup> A Spaniard by birth, who entered the Portuguese service. His original name was Juan de Nova.]



[1500-1521 A.D.]

the Eleven Thousand Virgins, he passed into the dreaded straits which bear his name. After a passage of fifteen hundred leagues, unexampled for its boldness, he reached the Philippine Islands. Here closed his extraordinary career in 1521. Though the object of the expedition failed, through the catastrophe of its leader, he will be considered by posterity as by far the most undaunted, and in many respects the most extraordinary man that ever traversed an unknown sea.<sup>e</sup>

In the midst of this splendid series of voyages and discoveries, and of brilliant victories and conquests of the Portuguese in Asia, a fatal incident afflicted Lisbon, in the year 1506. The deplorable catastrophe which plunged the capital in mourning sprang from religious intolerance, of which Dom Emmanuel had given such a fatal example on the occasion of his first marriage. On Low Sunday, the 19th of April, 1506, in the church of St. Dominic in Lisbon, where a vast concourse of people were assembled, the rays of the sun striking upon the splendour of a crucifix produced such a brilliant effect that certain visionaries, religious, or fanatics, took it for a miracle. The cry of "a miracle" already flew from mouth to mouth, when a bystander, more intelligent but with little prudence for his speech, suggested that this effect was due to the reflection of the sun and could only be called a natural phenomenon. This sufficed to cause him to be looked upon as a disguised Jew; a tumult arose, and such was the frenzy of the populace that a horrible massacre upon the so-called New Christians followed.

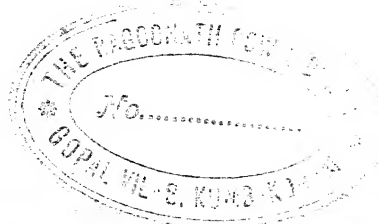
The massacre lasted for three days. More than a thousand persons perished. Dom Emmanuel was at Aviz at the time. As soon as he heard of what had occurred in the capital, he sent Dom Diogo Lobo, baron de Alvito, and the prior of Crato with full powers to punish the guilty.

He ordered that besides the special punishment of the guilty all the inhabitants should forfeit a fifth of all their property, movable and immovable, to the crown, and that from the date of the sentence there should be no more courts of aldermen, freemen of guilds, nor judges of hospitals; he further subjected the municipality to the jurisdiction of the harbingers, the amount of these impositions to be levied by officers of the crown. This species of interdict lasted for two years.

This splendid period of the reign of Dom Emmanuel, which includes the years 1500 to 1517, the eighteen years during which the fortunate monarch was married to Doña Maria of Castile, the most brilliant in Portuguese history for the military glory and wealth and commerce enjoyed by Portugal, and in which science, letters, and art were so flourishing — was not equally happy as regards public health, the safety of the lives and property of the inhabitants of these kingdoms, and internal administration.

The plague, which had frequently visited Portugal since the fifteenth century, attacked and ravaged the capital many times, as well as other towns of this kingdom; then royalty and those able to follow their example might be seen flying from the infected places. Real preventive measures were never adopted until the reign of João III. Novenas, feast-days, processions of the relics of St. Roque, which Dom Emmanuel sent for from Venice, such were the chief means adopted by the king and people to combat the epidemic, not, however, forgetting the safest course of flight.<sup>k</sup>

Dom Emmanuel died December 12th, 1521, after one of the most glorious reigns on record. Of his public administration enough has been said; and of his private character what little we know is chiefly in his favour. He administered justice with impartiality; and had regulated hours when he received his subjects without distinction; nay, such was his anxiety to do



[1495-1521 A.D.]

them justice, that if at the expiration of the appointed period complaints remained unredressed, he would sacrifice the hours sacred to enjoyment or repose. The persecution of the unfortunate Jews is a deep stain on his memory; but in every respect he was a great monarch, and his fame filled the world as much as his enlightened policy enriched his kingdom. He despatched embassies to all the potentates of his time — to the king of England, and the ruler of Abyssinia; to the royal chief of Congo, and the sultan of Egypt; to the sultan of Persia, and the emperor of China. Some of them — that, for instance, in which he displayed before the astonished pope and cardinals a Persian panther and an Indian elephant, with their native attendants — were distinguished by magnificence suitable to the lord of so many regions.<sup>e</sup>





### CHAPTER III

#### THE FALL, THE CAPTIVITY, AND THE REVOLUTION

[1521-1640 A.D.]

UPON the death of Dom Emmanuel in December, 1521, he was succeeded by Dom João, his eldest son, who had not yet completed his twentieth year. The chroniclers who wrote under the influence of the immediate successors of this prince, having the fear of censure before their eyes, represented him as endowed with high intelligence and qualities worthy of a king.

During his father's life many considered him an idiot. Dom Emmanuel himself feared the influence which unworthy men exerted over João during his early youth. It is certain that through inattention or incapacity he could never master the rudiments of science, nor even those of the Latin tongue. Throughout his reign monkish questions always appeared among the gravest business of the state, and his first action, when he had scarcely emerged from infancy, was to build a Dominican convent. This may be regarded as the worthy presage of an inquisition king. Whether from want of natural intelligence, ignorance, or errors of education, João III was a fanatic. The intolerance of his reign, though furthered by different incentives, was chiefly due to his character and inclinations.

The secretary of Dom Emmanuel, Antonio Carneiro, who deserved his confidence for many years and continued to serve the new king, when fatigue forced him to withdraw from a charge which he still held nominally for many years, left as his successor his second son Pedro de Alçacova. This man, whom we find years later managing the most various affairs at the same time, and whose activity appears almost incredible, by the side of a prince whose lack of culture his very panegyrists cannot hide, must have

been practically king in resolving the most difficult questions, as was the marquis of Pombal at a later epoch. Pedro de Alcaçova made no parade of his influence, hiding in the shadow of the throne, and leaving the frequently sterile brilliance of importance and favouritism to a vain nobility. But every dark stain that rests upon the reign of João III may be attributed to him, except the establishment of the horrible tribunal of the faith. In this particular, although the actual deed was his, the impulse came from the monarch. The resistance of the New Christians was long and persistent. A steadfast will made up of a million hatreds struggled against this resistance for more than twenty years and overcame it. In the end the rack, whip, and stake reigned supreme in the region of religious belief, prevailing over the evangelical doctrine of tolerance and liberty.

The failure of the attempt to establish the Inquisition in Portugal in 1515, from whatever cause arising, and the predominance obtained by the policy of tolerance, must have increased the spite of the irreconcilable enemies of the Jews. The hatred of João III for the Jews was profound and well known. This sufficed to excite in the minds of the people the ancient spirit of persecution and assassination. Ignorance and monkish tendencies, unassisted by envy or the memory of former wrongs, made the king naturally a fanatic, though fanaticism did not prevent him from abandoning himself to debauchery with women.

His marriage was treated of and Doña Catherine, sister of Charles V who then reigned in Castile, was chosen for his bride. The marriage took place, and an attempt was made to tighten the bond between the two countries by negotiating the marriage of Charles V with the infanta Donna Isabella, sister of the king of Portugal. The final conditions were adjusted and it was agreed that the dowry of the Portuguese infanta should be 90,000 doubloons, or more than 800,000 cruzados. Resources were wanting and it was necessary to obtain them. Perhaps this circumstance and several others caused the convocation of the cortes in 1525. Since the fifteenth century the Portuguese parliaments had lost their true value; they were more a matter of pomp and formality than of substance. The essential point, which was to raise money, was effected, for the cortes voted the impositions of new taxes to the amount of 150,000 cruzados to be raised in two years. This was the most urgent business. The representations of the councils were generally answered in fair words, which were only partially carried out long after the cortes of 1535, when the same representations were for the most part renewed. It was in this assembly that the general ill will towards the New Christians was at last able to manifest itself in a solemnly significant manner, but within strictly legal limits.<sup>b</sup> In 1536 the Inquisition was finally established. Its methods and its effects will be sufficiently shown in the appendix to this volume. It destroyed life, liberty, humanity, commerce, literature, and art in Portugal as elsewhere. When the Jesuits were admitted in 1540 and given charge of education, the church and the state were one, and the result was as usual a shameful combination of atrocity and paralysis.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA, INDIA, AND BRAZIL

The long reign of João exhibits interminable contests in India and Africa. Their details would be perused with little interest by an English reader. They can be noticed in so far only as they affect the general state of the monarchy. During these transactions in the East, Morocco continued to be

inary theatre of the worst human passions. On the one hand the e were eager to extend their possessions; on the other, the *sherifs*, in their successful ambition, were not less so to free the country from a troublesome enemy. From the accession of the new dynasty, the Portuguese began to decline. Indicative of the ambitious which they had formed, the sherifs assumed the title of emperors of the elder, Hamed, remaining at Morocco; the younger, Muhammed, the more western provinces.

king of Fez this assumption was not less odious than it was to the Portuguese themselves. That on one occasion the sherif, with four hundred horse, was signally defeated by a Portuguese noble with one hundred and forty, is gravely asserted; victories equally improbable, we equally impossible, occur at every step in the Portuguese relations with the wars of their countrymen with the misbelievers. But what, old, could not be effected by valour was done by fortune. Concerning the war which he had to support in India, and his want of troops, the extraordinary resolution of dismantling four of his African provinces, Arzilla, Saphin, Asemmur, Alcacer-Seguir, and of abandoning them to the enemy. This resolution was carried into effect; but that owing as much to the arms of the sherif as to the motives will be by every reader except a Portuguese.<sup>c</sup>

Portuguese empire of Portugal, however, continued to increase by the efforts of the able statesmen and warriors, whom João sent out as viceroys and governors, waged, upon the most frivolous pretexts, against the different reigning princes. They took advantage of the dissensions of the princes, and luccas, to obtain the complete sovereignty of those valuable islands. The disorders provoked by the tyranny and consequent assassination of the monarchs of Cambay enabled them to wrest from those monarchs the important port and city of Diu; and similar convulsions in the Deccan gave them opportunities of considerably extending the Portuguese dominions in that country. It is to be observed, however, that the sovereigns, thus despoiled, were themselves equally lawless conquerors. They were of the Mohammedan hordes, who had overrun India, overthrown the empires, and oppressed the Hindus. The enslaved natives probably would have rejoiced for the expulsion of one foreign master by another, if they had not rejoiced at exchanging the wantonly cruel tyranny of oriental despots for the more orderly extortion and oppression of a civilised

increase of the power of the Portuguese now alarmed all the Mohammedan potentates, and they applied to Constantinople for assistance to expel the Christian intruders. Again the request was enforced by a Christian princess, whose jealousy of the Portuguese rivals of her own commerce extinguished all nobler feeling, all religious sympathy. Suleiman was doubly urged, equipped a powerful armament in the Red Sea, proceeded to the Indian Ocean, joined the Cambayan forces in the defence of Diu. The defence, first by Antonio de Silveira, and afterwards by Dom Joao de Mascarenhas, of this place, or rather of the fortress, for the town of the island were quickly abandoned as untenable, ranks amongst the celebrated feats of the Portuguese in India. They repulsed incessantly the women labouring day and night at the fortifications, and engaged into the posts of greatest danger, to carry every needful assistance to the combatants, who, from their scanty numbers, could hardly ever quit the place. During both sieges, the place was reduced to the utmost ex-

tremity; and upon both occasions was relieved by the seasonable appearance of the viceroy with a powerful fleet.

Of the viceroys and governors who effected these acquisitions scarcely one was duly recompensed. Many died in poverty, and Nuño da Cunha, who gained Diu for King João, was only saved by death from being dragged in chains to the foot of his ungrateful master's throne. During João's reign, the celebrated apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, visited that country to attempt the conversion of the idolatrous natives: and the Portuguese obtained an establishment in China, and a free trade with Japan.

Brazil first acquired importance under João III. In 1531 he began the colonisation of that immense empire, then little more than a long line of seacoast. This he divided into several captaincies, which he granted, with large powers of jurisdiction, civil and criminal, to such persons as, upon those conditions, were willing to settle there, and to people and cultivate their respective grants. The French made various attempts to form rival settlements in Brazil, especially about Rio de Janeiro. They never obtained more than temporary possession of any part of the country.<sup>d</sup>

"The greatest credit that can be given to João III.," says Stephen,<sup>e</sup> "is that he kept his country out of all European complications." That he was able to accomplish this task was due chiefly to his close association with Charles V. The alliance was furthered by several royal marriages: King João himself wedded the Infanta Catherine, the sister of Charles V.; his only son, Dom João, married the daughter of Charles V., the Infanta Juana; whilst his only daughter, Donna Maria, was the first wife of Charles' son Philip. The two monarchs were therefore bound together by the closest family ties.<sup>e</sup>

João died in 1557. By his queen, Catherine, he had several male children, of whom none emerged from their infancy except João. Nor did that infante survive the father. In 1553 he received the hand of Juana, daughter of the emperor; but he died in the third month of his marriage, leaving the princess pregnant of a son, afterwards the unfortunate Dom Sebastian. Of João's brothers one only, the cardinal Henry, whom he had vainly endeavoured to place in the chair of St. Peter, survived him. As his sister Isabella was the mother of the Spanish monarch, the connection between the royal families of the two kingdoms was, as we shall soon see, fatal to the independence of Portugal. As Sebastian, on the death of his grandfather, was only three years of age, the regency, in conformity with the will of the late king, was vested in the widowed queen, Catherine of Austria. In a few years, however, being disgusted with the intrigues of Cardinal Henry, who aspired to the direction of affairs, she resigned it in his favour.<sup>c</sup>

Before going on with the chronicle, it will be well to read a Portuguese historian's picture of the decline of this period.<sup>a</sup>

#### ENNES' ACCOUNT OF THE DECADENCE OF PORTUGAL

We are about to enter upon the saddest and most unfortunate period in the history of Portugal. The brilliant epic which the bright sword of Alfonso Henriques began with the battle of Ourique, stops at the exact epoch at which an immortal bard appears. The *Lusiadas*, that Homeric apotheosis of a great, heroic people, arises almost at the hour of their fatal fall. But a few years and the epic is transformed into an elegy, the apotheosis into a funeral panegyric. But a few years and Camoens drags from his Olympic strophes these four lines:



[1521-1537 A.D.]

*"Fazei, senhor, que nunca os admirados  
 Allemaes, Gallos, Italos e Inglezes  
 Possam dirzer, que sao para mandados  
 Mais que para mandar, aos Portuguezes."*

—in vain, when the descendants of the old heroes were cowardly and infamously about to sell their humiliated country, poor and agonised, to the sinister son of Charles V, the emperor of legends.

These years of servitude and captivity spread like an immense oil stain over the brilliant history of Portugal, and the sun which sank in clouds of blood at Kassr-el-Kebir plunged the country into an obscure and long night until it rose radiantly once more on the field of Montijo. It falls to our lot to relate the history of this painful period of darkness and tears, barely illuminated in the beginning by the last rays of light thrown out by the conquests of the old East. The warlike genius which gave to Portugal the most glorious pages in modern epopee, the spirit of adventure, chivalrous and combatant, which carried its name to every corner of the world, and gave it a place of honour in the vanguard of the nations of Europe, was the same that apparently lowered the national colours before the victorious crescent on the sands of Africa, was the same that strangled national independence with the bonds of captivity, and delivered it inert and defenceless into the hands of the devil of the south, the lugubrious Philip II.

Portugal, having reached the apogee of her glory, became giddy and fell into the abyss of slavery. In the supreme hour of her agony, the red hat of a cardinal appeared at the bedside of the dying kingdom. Portugal's gravedigger, the cardinal Dom Henry, was a sinister figure. But who killed her, who struck her the fatal blow? It was not the perverse imbecilities of the cowardly Jesuit; it was not the dangerous errors of the youthful knight-king. The assassin of Portugal was that fanatic and imbecile monarch who opened his foolish arms to the Society of Jesus, who planted deep in the kingdom that deadly tree known as absolutism, under whose protecting shadow was planted, thrived, and flowered that colossal infamy—the Inquisition. And who has to answer before the same tribunal of history for the lost liberty, the outraged honour, the valour spurned, the ruined wealth of that nation which gave to the world the most magnificent spectacle of modern times, a diminutive country throwing over the two hemispheres her power, her influence, her name? It is not the ambitious and imbecile old man chronicled under the hated name of cardinal-king; not the heroic child, the beardless youth who, enamoured of glory, died in pursuit of it, like a daring paladin on the sands of Kassr-el-Kebir; not the cold inert corpse to whom, with pungent irony, tradition has given the nickname of *Piedoso*, and who is known in history as João III. In history's terrible logic Philip II was fatal heir to João III. It was the unhappy reign of this inept monarch which prepared the way to Portugal's ruin.

His internal policy completely transformed the government into a fierce unchecked absolutism; his external policy of pure neutrality, at a time of grave disputes between all the European nations, alienated from him the sympathies of all the states of Europe; and later, when Philip II wiped from the map this diminutive nationality which, hidden in a corner of the west, had spread its fame and name throughout the world, Europe paid back to Portugal the debt of haughty indifference she had incurred under the pious king. When the Spaniards made their threatening invasion into Portugal, instead of finding an energetic and valiant nation defending its life and its liberty, they found a weak and inert people, humbled beneath the

[1521-1537 A.D.]

yoke of fierce absolutism, fanaticism enveloping the souls of all, demoralisation rampant in the army, luxury enervating the higher social classes, hunger and misery devastating the people; a nation of lions transformed into a flock of sheep by immorality, by despotism, by misery—a flock of sheep guided by an imbecile and disastrous shepherd, the unlucky cardinal, Dom Henry.

Dom Henry and Dom Sebastian could barely reap the deadly fruits of the venomous seeds sown by João III. It would seem that in such critical moments providence chooses incapable, weak, and blundering kings, who instead of delaying for a time the inevitable fall, seem rather unhappily to hasten it.

And thus at the close of the sad reign of João III, on seeing the crown placed on the head of an infant of three years, obstinately disputed by two great ambitions, that of the queen Catherine the grandmother, and that of Cardinal Henry the uncle, on seeing the indifference of Europe, on seeing Spain's vast power in Portuguese policy, one does not need to be a prophet to foretell in the near future the sad development which fanaticism, tyranny, and the stupidity of the unworthy son of the great Dom Emmanuel had prepared for the splendid epic commenced at the battle of Ourique; to foretell the tremendous downfall of the colossus known as Portugal. Before entering the most lamentable reign of Dom Sebastian, let us cast a glance over the state of Portugal during the last years of Dom João's life, and consider what manner of kingdom and people the desired king received in heritage, upon taking his first childish steps in a world to which he was to leave so sad a tradition.

The reign of Dom João III is an original mixture of splendours and threats, of wealth and misery. It presents brilliant lights and implacable shadows, but unhappily the lights were the last reflections of Portuguese glory soon to be extinguished, the shadows the unfortunate heralds of the immense night into which Portugal was to be plunged. Portugal at this epoch had reached the apogee of her prosperity. The Portuguese flag fluttered over the most remote countries of the wealthy East. Her commerce sucked fabulous wealth from the abundant breasts of old Asia. India resigned herself to the conquest; Brazil was beginning to be peopled; China and Japan discovered, Oceania subjected, Abyssinia explored, were rich harvests of glory and gold, of heroic deeds and vast fortunes for Portugal. But this gold scarcely circulated in the country; instead of benefiting the latter, it went to enrich England, to give power to Italy and Flanders, stupidly to fill the ever insatiable coffers of the Vatican. This glory instead of acting as a stimulus was suffocated by the tyrannies of absolutism, was crushed by the stupid fanaticism of the Jesuits, who paraded, triumphant and strong, under the sinister protection of the Inquisition. The period of Dom João III marks out distinctly and perfectly in history the transition from the pinnacles of triumphant power to the dark abysses of slavery, from a glorious life to a humiliating death.

The conquests and prosperity in the East were the outcome of the former impulses; what the country owed to the pious king was the demoralisation of the army and people, the glorification of tyrants, the relaxation of judicial authority crushed by the Inquisition, the gilded poverty of the people, the enervation of the aristocracy, the loss of commerce by the flight of foreigners residing in Lisbon harassed at every step by the infamous cruelties of the Inquisition, and the stupid despotism of individual power. All the glory of his reign is due to his predecessors; the shame, opprobrium, immorality, and misery are due to him, and unhappily were left as an inheritance to his successors and to the country.

THE REGENCIES AND THE REIGN OF SEBASTIAN (1557-1578 A.D.)

João III, dying, had committed the government of his kingdom, and the care of his grandson, then only three years old, to his widow, Queen Catherine. She governed ably; and by her active exertions sent such effective succours to Mazagan, which was almost the only remaining Portuguese fortress in northern Africa, and then reduced to extremity by a Moorish army of eighty thousand men, that the Mohammedans were compelled to raise the siege. But the Portuguese detested queen-dowagers, especially when Spanish; and Queen Catherine in 1562 found it expedient to resign the regency to her brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry, for whom João had unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain the papal tiara. The cardinal was a good man, but unfitted, by the habits of his past life, for government. Under his feeble administration, the authority of Portugal over her distant colonies was weakened, and the inferior governors struggled against the control of the viceroys; whilst, by committing the education of the infant king wholly to Jesuits, he prepared the way for the heavier calamities that followed.

Sebastian is represented as naturally endowed with many great and good qualities, especially an eager desire for knowledge. But the Jesuits seem to have studied only to guard their royal pupil from a tendency to vice. But scarcely any vice, however injurious to his own individual character and happiness, could have brought such wide-spreading misery, such utter destruction upon his kingdom, as did the extravagance into which Sebastian was hurried by mistaken virtues.<sup>1</sup> He grew up with the idea that hatred of the infidels was Christianity, and courage the first virtue of a king. He proved the ruin of Portugal.

He was very desirous of going out to India, to remedy, by his personal intervention, the disorders which had greatly increased during his minority, and to relieve Goa and Chaul, besieged, in consequence of the weakness those disorders had produced, by the whole force of the Mohammedans, in that part of the world. His ministers remonstrated. Sebastian listened to their representations, and resigned his purpose. It might have been happier for Portugal had he been suffered to execute it. Be that as it may, effective measures were taken. The enemy was repulsed from Chaul and Goa, and the Indian empire of Portugal was tranquillised.

In the year 1571, Philip II invited his nephew to take a part in the great armament against the Turks under Don John of Austria, which Sebastian declined doing, upon the plea of his dominions being desolated by the plague. Sebastian's first visit to Africa more resembles some of the expeditions of the knights errant of romance, than anything in real sober history. He is said to have left Lisbon on a hunting excursion, in the course of which he crossed the sea, to pursue his sport in another quarter of the globe. Upon landing in Africa, he sent home for a small body of troops, and when they joined him, gave over hunting for the still more exciting amusement of making hostile inroads upon the neighbouring Moors. In these, he of course could do no more than take some booty and prisoners; and when he had roused the Mohammedans to assemble their forces, he was compelled, by the consciousness of inferior strength, to re-embark for Portugal. From this moment he thought of nothing but recovering the African possessions

[<sup>1</sup> "The young king was rather German than Portuguese in appearance, with his blue eyes and fair hair and face disfigured by the Habsburg lip, and in his nature there was much of the Teuton dreaminess and love of the marvellous."—STEPHENS.]

[1574-1578 A.D.]

which his grandfather had lost or abandoned, and his court became a scene of contest and cabal — his grandmother, and Cardinal Henry, and all his sagest counsellors remonstrating vehemently against what they justly deemed the visionary projects of extravagant ambition; whilst flattering courtiers, heedless young men, and fanatical ecclesiastics eagerly encouraged his views.

In the midst of these contests, a revolution in Africa seemed to offer an opportunity too favourable to be neglected. In the empire of Morocco, upon the death of the emperor Abdallah, his son Mulei Ahmed usurped the government. He ruled tyrannically, and his uncle Mulei Moloch [or Maula Abd-el-Melik], the legitimate sovereign, easily formed a strong party against him, with which, after a severe struggle, he succeeded in overthrowing the usurper and establishing himself in his place. Mulei Ahmed sought foreign assistance. Philip II declined interfering, when Mulei Ahmed addressed himself to Sebastian, adding to his offer of tribute that of the restitution of Arzila. Philip is said to have laboured to deter his nephew from embarking in an enterprise altogether beyond his means. Most historians, with the exception of the Spanish, accused Philip of having employed underhand methods of instigating the young king to persevere in the determination he affected to dissuade. Especially he is charged with inducing the pope to applaud and encourage Sebastian in his purpose.<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that the king of Portugal's resolution to accept Mulei Ahmed's offers was not to be shaken. The old queen died of the anxiety occasioned by her grandson's rashness and obstinacy; Cardinal Henry marked his disapprobation by refusing to act as regent during the king's absence: and Sebastian appointed in his stead the archbishop of Lisbon and two noblemen, one of whom was João de Mascarenhas, an ex-vice-roy of India, and as distinguished a warrior as any of those who had conquered and secured the Portuguese empire in the East.

#### THE DÉBACLE AT KASSR-EL-KEBIR (1578 A.D.)

The army with which, in June, 1578, Sebastian sailed for Africa, to overthrow the powerful sovereign of Morocco, consisted of less than sixteen thousand men. But he was accompanied by almost all the young nobility of Portugal, and he relied upon the assurances of Mulei Ahmed that great numbers of his former subjects would immediately declare in his favour. A few volunteer adventurers, from different countries, joined the standard of the chivalrous young king [including Sir Thomas Stukeley, an English Catholic].

Mulei Moloch assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, and at their head, although so reduced by illness that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he advanced to meet the invader. Some of these troops having been formerly partisans of his nephew, Mulei Moloch, distrustful of their attachment, issued a proclamation, that whosoever pleased was at liberty to pass over to his competitor. This magnanimity secured his triumph over any who might have previously hesitated between their old and new sovereigns, and very few indeed of the dispossessed usurper's former adherents took advantage of the liberty offered them.

[<sup>1</sup> La Clède will allow no virtue to Philip, who, he pretends, suddenly approved the enterprise, in the diabolical view of hastening the destruction of his nephew, and profiting by the catastrophe. "*Philippe avait fait, de son côté ses réflexions: autant qu'il s'étoit d'abord opposé à l'entreprise que le roi de Portugal méditoit, autant il montra de désir que l'on l'exécutât. Sébastien étoit jeune téméraire, sans enfans: il pourroit périr et alors le Portugal pouvoit être réuni à la Castille.*" ]

[1578 A.D.]

Sebastian's camp was now distracted by contending opinions. Mulei Ahmed, who was disappointed in his expectation of deserters from his uncle's army, and now relied upon the impending fatal issue of that uncle's malady for making him master, without a blow, of empire and army, and perhaps of his Christian allies, urged Sebastian to fortify himself in a strong position on the seacoast; but Sebastian, rejecting all rational counsel, led his small army forward, into the open country, to encounter the overwhelming superiority of numbers there awaiting him.

On the 4th of August, 1578, the armies met near Kassr-el-Kebir (Alcazar-Quivir). Mulei Moloch was conscious that his death could not be long deferred, and fearful that, upon its occurrence, his nephew might gain some advantage over his brother and lawful successor, Ahmed ben Muhammed, he sought an opportunity of engaging the invaders, and by their defeat insuring the peaceful succession of Ahmed ben Muhammed. He caused himself to be carried through the ranks in his litter, that he might personally exhort his troops.

Sebastian likewise displayed a degree of military skill not to have been anticipated from the rashness of his previous movements; and, at first, victory seemed to incline towards him. One division of the Moorish army was routed, when Mulei Moloch, forgetting his malady in indignation, insisted upon being placed on horseback; and in person rallying the fugitives, attempted to lead them back to the attack. The effort was too much for his strength; he fainted, and was replaced in his litter, where he only recovered sufficiently to charge his attendants to conceal his death, lest it should discourage his troops, and expired, with his finger on his lips, to enforce these last commands. They were obeyed. His attendants affected to open and reclose the curtains of the litter, as if making reports, and receiving orders; and the troops, encouraged by his last exertion, and believing themselves still under his eye, fought with irresistible valour. The Portuguese, notwithstanding their dauntless intrepidity and discipline, notwithstanding the invincible heroism of their king, who, flying from place to place, was seen wherever the danger was most imminent, were completely defeated. More than nine thousand of the army fell, and the rest were made prisoners, with the exception of about fifty, who escaped by flight. The young nobility, fighting desperately, were almost all slain; many a noble family was there extinct, and all were plunged in mourning. Mulei Ahmed was drowned in endeavouring to fly; and Ahmed ben Muhammed obtained uncontested possession of his inheritance.

Some portion of obscurity hangs over the fate of the adventurous Sebastian himself. But little real doubt can exist of his having fallen upon the fatal field of Kassr-el-Kebir. He had several horses killed under him, and was seen fighting, long after the general rout, with only three companions,

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[1578 A.D.]

against a host of enemies. The sole survivor of this devoted little band, Nuño de Mascarenhas, stated that, after the fate of two of their company, the king was disarmed and taken prisoner; when, his captors quarrelling about their prize, one of the Moors terminated the dispute by cutting Sebastian down, and he was forthwith despatched. Ahmed ben Muhammed, hearing this, sent one of Sebastian's servants to the spot indicated, who pointed out and brought away a corpse, which was recognised as the king's by the other attendants upon the royal person. The emperor of Morocco afterwards delivered it up to his ally the king of Spain, together with some noble prisoners, including two sons of the duke of Braganza. Philip generously sent home the released captives, as well as the remains of Sebastian, which were interred in the royal sepulchre of Belem.<sup>2</sup>

The 4th of August will ever be the most memorable of days in the annals of Portugal. Never was victory more signal than that of Kassr-el-Kebir. Of the Portuguese force which had left Lisbon, fifty individuals only returned; the rest were dead or in captivity, and with them the chivalry of the kingdom. Eighty of the nobles, through the good offices of Philip, were subsequently ransomed for 400,000 cruzados. The uncertainty which hung over Sebastian's disappearance was converted into a doubt of the catastrophe; and this doubt was still further improved into a report that he was still alive. Several nobles, and among them the prior of Crato, always affected to believe that he had survived the dreadful slaughter of that day. As the public mind was taught to expect the possibility at least of his re-appearance, impostors, in such an age and at such a crisis of affairs, would scarcely fail to personate him — with what success will soon be related.<sup>1</sup>

On the character of this prince, after the preceding relation, it is needless to dwell. Without judgment or power of reflection; the tool of interested flatterers; unacquainted alike with war, with human nature, or the world; misled by the lying miracles recorded of Portuguese valour — one Portuguese being affirmed as a sufficient match for one hundred Moors; confiding in his natural courage, which knew not fear, because it had never been conversant with danger; and taught to believe that to the valour of his people all things must yield — he persisted in the wildest schemes of conquest ever devised by disordered brain. The obstinacy with which he adhered to this resolution, in opposition to representations the most forcible and pathetic; the lamentable imbecility which he displayed alike in the preparation and execution of his purpose, prove that his only virtue was courage. Had there been some superior power to confine the moonstruck prince in the same apartments with his cousin, Don Carlos of Spain, well would it have been for unhappy Portugal.

#### THE CARDINAL-KING AND THE PORTUGUESE SUCCESSION

For some time the nation, unwilling to believe that Sebastian had perished, regarded Henry merely as regent; but on the arrival of the royal

<sup>1</sup> By the populace of the kingdom, Sebastian was believed, even in the nineteenth century, to be yet alive, concealed, like Roderic the Goth, or the English Arthur, in some hermit's cell, or, perhaps, in some enchanted castle until the time of his re-appearance arrives, when he is to restore the glory of his nation. During the aggressions of Bonaparte on the kingdom, excitement, and as early as 1763, Lord Tyravley exclaimed, "What can one possibly do with a nation, one-half of which expects the Messiah and the other half their king, Dom Sebastian, dead two hundred years?"



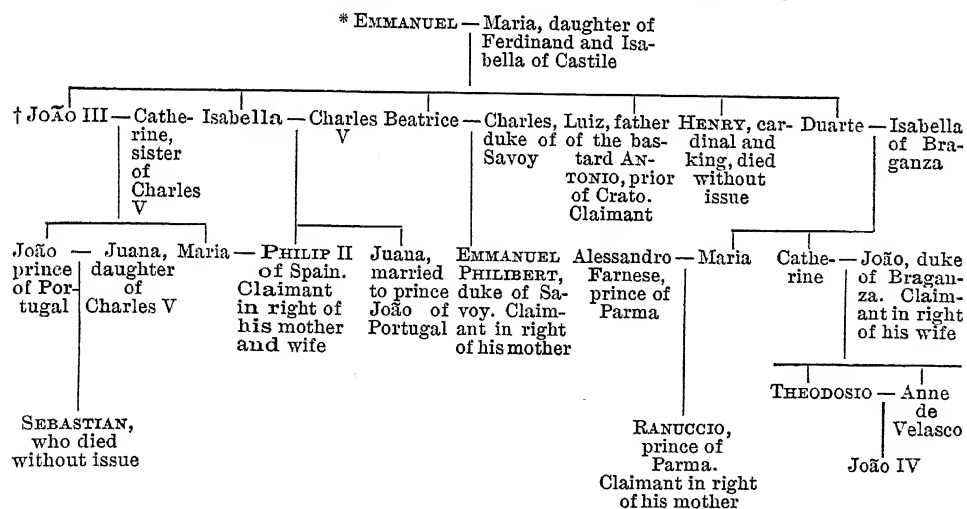
[1578-1580 A.D.]

body, and on the confirmation of the catastrophe by every Portuguese who arrived from Africa, the cardinal, the last surviving male of the ancient house, was solemnly crowned. He was an excellent ecclesiastic; but his bounded capacity, his meekness of character, his subjection to the arts of his courtiers rendered his administration of little use to his country. His short reign has nothing to distinguish it beyond the intrigues of candidates for the throne, which, as he was in his sixty-seventh year, broken down by infirmities, and evidently on the verge of the tomb, could not fail to be soon vacant. At first, indeed, he was advised to marry; and application was actually made to the pope for the necessary bull of secularisation; but Philip of Spain, who had so close an interest in the affair, frustrated his views at the pontifical court, and compelled him to abandon them.

The candidates for the throne of Henry, as may be seen from the adjoining chart,<sup>1</sup> were: (1) Antonio, prior of Crato, who affirmed that his father Luiz, brother of João III, was married to his mother, and that he was consequently legitimate; (2) João, duke of Braganza, in right of his wife Catherine, a younger daughter of the youngest son of Emmanuel; (3) Ranuccio, prince of Parma, whose mother, Maria, was the eldest daughter of Dom Duarte; (4) Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, sprung from Beatrice, a younger daughter of King Emmanuel; (5) Philip, king of Spain, whose claim was twofold—his mother, Isabella, being eldest daughter of Emmanuel, and his first queen, Maria, eldest daughter of João III. From this genealogy nothing can be more clear than that, if the claim were to be decided by consanguinity alone, Philip's was by far the most powerful; but by the laws of Lamago, the princess who accepted a foreign husband was

[<sup>1</sup> We may omit from the contest the pope, Gregory XIII, who claimed to be heir to a cardinal, and Catherine de' Medici, who traced back to Alfonso III's marriage to the countess of Boulogne in the thirteenth century.]

CHIEF CLAIMANTS OF THE PORTUGUESE SUCCESSION



\* The first wife of Emmanuel was Isabella, eldest daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, who died in childbed, and was soon followed by her infant son. By Maria, his sister-in-law and his second queen, he had three other children, besides those enumerated in this table, but all died without issue.

† João III had also other children, but as they all died without issue and before him, they need not be enumerated.

*ipso facto* excluded from the throne. Hence, according to the strict letter of the constitution, Isabella and Beatrice, the daughters of Emmanuel, and Maria, the daughter of Duarte, had, by their marriages with the emperor Charles, the duke of Savoy, and the prince of Parma, renounced all claim to the succession: hence, too, by their exclusion, João was the true heir. Besides — and Philip was probably aware of the fact — the law of exclusion, in its very origin, had been expressly aimed at the probability of a union with Castile, seeing that, if the same prince ever became heir to the two crowns, the less must be absorbed in the greater — the independence of Portugal must be at an end. But conventional forms must yield to necessity. We have before seen how, on the marriage of Beatrice, daughter and sole child of Ferdinand, with Juan I of Castile, the states of the kingdom agreed to recognise the issue of that marriage as their future sovereign; and how, on the death of her father, she being yet without issue, she was actually proclaimed in Lisbon and other places. But such was the hatred of the Portuguese to the Castilians — hatred now as then deep, cordial, and everlasting — that they preferred the bastard, grand-master of Aviz, to that princess.<sup>c</sup>

#### PHILIP II OF SPAIN BECOMES PHILIP I OF PORTUGAL

Dom Antonio, who, after being taken prisoner at Kassr-el-Kebir, had broken his Moorish fetters by the help of a Jew, was the favourite of the populace. He still asserted his legitimacy, imputed corruption to the judges who had decided against his mother's marriage, and reminded his friends that João I, the founder of the reigning house, was an illegitimate son, raised to the throne by popular election. The feeble-minded Henry, whose chief ministers, as well as his Jesuit confessor, were gained over by Philip's money, hesitated to pronounce, lest he should involve the country in civil war. The cortes, whom he convoked, were divided, and timid as himself. The seventeen months of his reign passed in deliberation; and at his death, on the 31st of January, 1580, he left the question to be decided by five regents, whom he named. Had he boldly declared Catherine his heiress, the greater part of Dom Antonio's adherents would most likely have deserted an illegitimate pretender for their recognised lawful queen. As it was, the kingdom, divided between two strong factions, lay at the mercy of a powerful invader.

Philip had hitherto committed the management of his pretensions to ambassadors and secret agents; and he now supplied these persons more abundantly than ever with pecuniary means to continue their operations. A majority of the regents were bribed by those agents, and consequently sought to dispose of the nation in Philip's favour, by publishing the terms he offered to grant. The chief of these were, in addition to the general maintenance of the constitution, that he would reside as much as possible in Portugal; that the viceroy appointed to govern in his absence should always be either a prince of the blood or a Portuguese; that a Portuguese council should always attend him for the management of Portuguese affairs; that natives of Portugal should be admitted into offices of the household and others of minor importance in Spain, whilst Spaniards, and all strangers, should be excluded from all offices in Portugal, civil and military, as well as from all church preferment; and that crown lands, as the existing grants fell in, should be regranted to the nearest relations of the former grantees. Conditions so favourable seem to have had great influence in lessening the abhorrence with which the nobles had hitherto shrunk from a connection with

[1580-1583 A.D.]

Spain; and Philip now prepared to enforce and support his claim with the potent argument of thirty thousand men. A fitting commander for this army was, however, not so easily found. The duke of Alva was the only general esteemed by Philip competent to the task.

The corrupted regents took all measures for betraying the country to the usurping invader. They dissolved the cortes, and placed creatures of their own in the command of the frontier towns. In June, Alva entered Portugal at the head of his army. Every fortified place threw open its gates at his summons, and he marched onwards unopposed. The duke of Braganza had taken no steps for maintaining his wife's rights, otherwise than by argument. The prior of Crato got possession of Lisbon, where he was proclaimed king by the populace. The nobility, disgusted by his elevation and the inaction of the regents, withdrew sullenly to their houses; and the regents, freed from their control, boldly declared Philip the lawful heir of the crown.

Dom Antonio seized the crown jewels, church plate, and other funds. He released all prisoners, armed them and the rabble, and offered liberty to all negro slaves who would embrace his cause. With an army thus constituted, he attempted to defend the passage of the Tagus against the veteran Alva, who was master of the whole province of Alemtejo, and had reached the south bank of the river, without more fighting than a short siege of one fortress that had declared for Dom Antonio, and the commandant of which, when taken, he had executed. Dom Antonio was, of course, defeated, almost at the first onset. He fled through Lisbon, northwards; collected another army, with which he was again defeated; and thenceforward thought only of escape. Philip set a high price upon his head, but could not tempt any one of his adherents to betray him. For nine months Dom Antonio lurked in the kingdom, concealed now in one place, now in another, sheltered by rich and by poor, in castle, monastery, and cottage, and everywhere diligently sought by his enemies, ere he could find an opportunity of getting on shipboard.

After Dom Antonio's second defeat no further resistance was attempted. Portugal submitted, and swore fealty. Her American, Indian, African, and insular possessions followed her example, with the single exception of the Azores, which proclaimed Antonio. The duke of Braganza and his sons acknowledged Philip. The duchess would not thus surrender her rights; and even when Philip, upon the death of Queen Anne and the duke of Braganza, offered her his hand, she refused a crown as the price of disinheriting her sons; but she too desisted from further contest. When all was quiet Philip visited his new kingdom, convoked the cortes, and swore to the conditions he had previously offered.

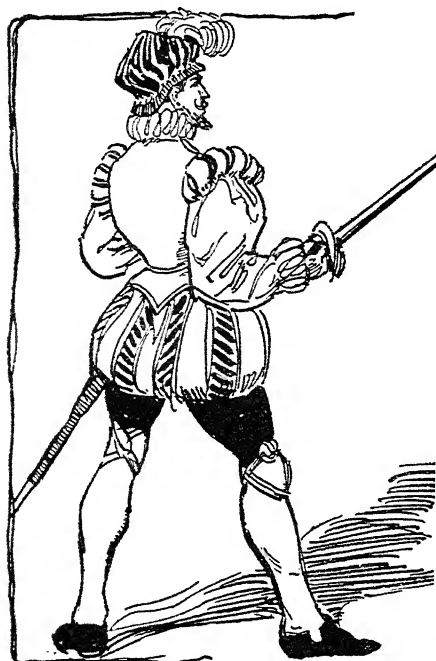
Thus was effected, however illegally, the union of Spain and Portugal — a union apparently as important to the true interests of the peninsula as is that of England and Scotland to the well-being of Great Britain; and not more repugnant to the inclinations of the two nations in the one case, probably, than in the other. Had Philip and his successors strictly observed the terms of the union, and endeavoured otherwise to conciliate the Portuguese, these last might, ere long, have considered the Spanish monarchs as their lawful kings, and have reconciled their pride to their incorporation with a larger state. But although rather a usurper than a conqueror, he chose to treat Portugal as a conquered country. He rejected the proposals for beneficial laws, and, indeed, all the demands of the cortes, except a few of the most insignificant, and speedily dissolved that assembly. He refused the favours solicited by the nobles, withheld the honours and pecuniary

[1582-1589 A.D.]

compensations promised to the Braganza family; and although he did publish an amnesty, the exceptions were so large (including all who had favoured Dom Antonio) that, it was said, Philip had pardoned only those who were free from offence. He then proceeded to punish the persons thus excepted; and the extent of the executions which followed may be judged by two circumstances: one that, from the number of dead bodies thrown into the sea, the people would not eat fish again, until the archbishop, in a solemn procession, had purified by his blessing the polluted ocean; and the other, that Philip himself thought it requisite to obtain absolution from the pope, for having put such numbers of ecclesiastics to death. He then appointed his nephew and brother-in-law, the cardinal-archduke Albert, viceroy of Portugal; and committing to him the government of the country, where discontent was already very general, he returned to Spain.<sup>d</sup>

## THE ENGLISH IN PORTUGAL

During the next few years Portugal had nothing to do with the foreign or domestic policy of Philip. Governed with great moderation by the arch-



PORTUGUESE NOBLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

duke, enjoying internal peace, an extended commerce, and a high degree of prosperity, she might have been happy—happier than she had ever been under her native monarchs—could hereditary enmity have been forgotten, and national pride sacrificed to interest. The exiled Antonio was made aware of the existing discontent: he had many well-wishers and not a few spies in the country, who constantly communicated with him. After the second defeat of his armament in the Azores, he abode at the French court, with the hope of obtaining increased supplies for an invasion of Portugal; but as the civil wars which raged in the former country were likely to prove interminable, he passed over into England to renew his intrigues with the earl of Essex. He arrived at a favourable time, just after the destruction of the Spanish armada, when the resentment of the English was at the highest pitch, and they were longing for revenge.

At first, however, Elizabeth, with her usual prudence, disapproved of the project of a Portuguese invasion; but, with her usual weakness, wherever the tender passion was concerned, she was persuaded by the favourite earl to enter into an alliance with the exile, and to equip an armament for placing him on the throne. Nothing can better exhibit the unprincipled impostor than certain conditions of that alliance. He engaged to subjugate Portugal in one week from the disembarkation of the troops; to pay Elizabeth

[1581-1595 A.D.]

an immense sum for the expenses of the armament, and a considerable annual tribute in token of her sovereignty; to receive English garrisons, at his own expense, into the principal maritime fortresses; on his arrival at Lisbon, to abandon that city to a twelve days' pillage. In conformity with another article of the treaty, — a treaty not over honourable to Elizabeth herself, since she grasped at advantages which generosity, or even justice, would have scorned, — twenty thousand men were embarked at Plymouth in 120 vessels, the whole commanded by Drake and Norris (1589).

The success of this expedition corresponded with its flagitious design. After an unsuccessful attempt on Corunna, the armament cast anchor at Peniche, and disembarked the troops who marched to Torres Vedras, where they proclaimed Dom Antonio, and continued their route towards the capital. But the peasantry, instead of joining his standard, fled at his approach. As the English general approached the suburbs, the monks, the women, and most of the inhabitants retired within the city. The ill success of the English, who repeatedly assailed the outworks, stifled the intrigues of the disaffected; and a vigorous sortie decided the fate of the expedition. The English general, who throughout exhibited strange imbecility, retreated; he was pursued; many of his followers were cut off; with the rest he sought refuge in the tower of Cascaes, which the cowardly governor surrendered to him. Here, considering the want of provisions, and the deception which had been practised on him by Dom Antonio, who had persuaded him that the moment a hostile standard were raised it would be joined by all true Portuguese, he wisely resolved to return home. This was fortunately the last time Portugal was cursed with the prior's presence. Deserted by his nearest friends, neglected by the sovereigns, his former allies, in 1595 he ended his unprincipled life in merited obscurity and indigence.

## THE FALSE SEBASTIANS

But though Philip was thus rid of a formidable enemy, he had others who were actuated by even a superior spirit of imposture, and who might have occasioned him some trouble. We have before alluded to a strange impression among the vulgar that Sebastian yet lived, and that such an impression, in such an age and country, could not fail to produce impostors. The first, who appeared in 1584, was a native of Alcobaga — a man of low extraction and of still lower morals. Though he was condemned to death, the sentence — very wisely — was not put into execution. He was condemned to labour in the galleys, where all who had the curiosity might visit him, and be convinced by their own eyes that he was not Sebastian.

The failure of this impostor did not deter another from the same hazardous experiment. There was a stone-cutter's son, Alvares by name, a native of the Azores, who, having passed some months in the monastery of the Holy Cross, on the heights of Cintra, left that community, and, like the youth of Alcobaga, retired to a hermitage. At this time he does not appear to have meditated the personation of Sebastian: when, from his frequent self-inflictions, and from his extraordinary habits, he was suspected to be that prince, and even addressed as such, he replied that he was a stone-mason's son of Terceira. But the more he affirmed this truth, the less was he believed: he was evidently fulfilling a rigorous penitence, to atone for the misfortunes which he had brought on his people; and, like Roderic the Goth, he had doubtless renounced forever all human grandeur. Perceiving that opposition

[1585-1598 A.D.]

was useless, Alvares consented to be treated as a king : he was soon joined by hundreds of the peasantry, whom he allowed to kiss his hand with much affectation of condescension. At length the hermit was taken, was brought to Lisbon, paraded through the streets on the back of an ass, exposed to the jeers of the populace, and publicly hanged.

It might have been expected that the failure of these two attempts would have had some effect even on imposture and credulity ; but a third Sebastian appeared, and, strange to say, in Spain, under the very eyes of Philip. There was an Augustinian monk, by name Miguel dos Santos, who had been a chaplain of Sebastian, confessor to Dom Antonio, and who was now confessor to the nunnery of Madrigal. Here he met with Gabriel de Spinosa, a native of Toledo, whom he had known in Portugal, and of whose intelligence, boldness, and dexterity he had seen frequent proofs. As this man really bore a resemblance to King Sebastian, he persuaded him, though not without difficulty, secretly to personate that monarch. Finally the priest, being put to the torture, confessed all. The same means extorted a similar confession from Spinosa, who was hanged and quartered. The priest was degraded, delivered over to the secular arm, and suspended from the public gallows at Madrid.<sup>c</sup>

A fourth impostor was more famous than all the rest, by birth supposed to be an Italian ; who, after a long confinement in Naples, was transferred to Spain, where he ended his days in a prison. His imposture was the more remarkable from the fact that he could not speak Portuguese.<sup>a</sup>

The remaining actions of Philip must be sought in the history of Spain. Four years before his death, on the removal of the cardinal-regent to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, the government of Portugal was intrusted to a commission of five. In 1598, Philip breathed his last.<sup>c</sup>

#### CHAGAS' ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE COLONIES

As yet it was only our pilots who were acquainted with the navigation of the Indies ; in India we were the only nation who had dominions and solidly established settlements, and consequently we were sole lords of the commerce of the East. The English confined themselves to plundering our ships on their return voyage from India, but they dared not come to fight us in the land conquered by our superhuman feats. A young nation that was about to appear at this period on the historical stage was chosen by fate to be the one to wrest from our grasp the sceptre of the East. The Low Countries had long held important commerce with us, principally the town of Antwerp, where a Portuguese factory had been long established. The ships of this industrious country came to Portugal to fetch the merchandise of the East, and scattered it afterwards over Europe. When the Flemish and Dutch rising broke out against Spain, dominator of the Low Countries, Antwerp, the central point of the war, lost her commercial importance, which Amsterdam inherited.

While Portugal was independent she continued the commerce which enriched Holland, but when Philip II effected the union of the two crowns, he had the unhappy inspiration of attacking his rebellious subjects by issuing in 1594 an order for the sequestration of fifty Dutch ships at anchor in the Tagus, and at the same time promulgated a decree closing all Portuguese ports to the Dutch. The blow was terrible, and might have proved mortal, but for the unshakable energy of those republicans of the north. Being unable to come to Portugal for the merchandise of the East, they deter-



[1594-1600 A.D.]

mined to go and seek it in India herself. In 1594, some merchants of Zeeland, assisted by the subsidies of Amsterdam and Enkhuizen, equipped three ships, intrusted them to the care of their two most able mariners, Barentz and Heemskerk, and despatched them to the north in quest of a new passage to the Asiatic seas. The English had already made a similar attempt in 1556, but without success; this attempt of the Dutch was not more successful, and the shipowners were in truth discouraged when the hope which upheld them proved vain.

A chance circumstance favoured them. A Dutchman, named Cornelis Houtmann, had been long in Portugal, and had either succeeded in obtaining a passage to India, or had obtained ample information in the country respecting the route first taken by Vasco da Gama. In 1595, a fleet of four ships piloted by him set out for the coveted lands of the East. In August, 1597, he returned to Texel with barely two ships, but having displayed the colours of a new European flag to the amazed natives of Madagascar, Bantam, Java, Madura, and Bali. The spell was broken. Overjoyed at the result, the Dutch merchants equipped a fleet of eight ships in 1598, commanded by Jacques le Necker and Heemskerk and despatched them to the East. This fleet touched at the island of Cirne, which they named Mauritius, in honour of their great general Maurice of Nassau, a name by which it is still called, though also known as the Isle of France, which Bernardin de St. Pierre has immortalised in his romance, *Paul et Virginie*. From thence they proceeded to Bantam, where they freighted four ships with spices and despatched them to Europe. The remaining ships visited the Moluccas and, in 1600, returned to Holland with a most valuable cargo.

The success of this enterprise was of the greatest importance to England, to which country Philip II had also closed Portuguese ports, in 1589. The English had despatched an expedition to India in 1591. The result did not correspond with the hopes of success, and the British merchants were already discouraged when the example of the Dutch excited them to form the famous company of the Indies, one of the most fruitful origins of England's prosperity.

Under Portuguese administration the constant war always agitating India never ceased, but the Portuguese arms were ever victorious. Yet this state of war made it impossible to frustrate from the outset the attempts of the English and Dutch.

We must always bear in mind that whereas externally Portuguese dominion was firmly maintained, internally the most profound corruption was at work, and paving the way to the dissolution of this vast empire in the near future. The vices of the Portuguese, the corruption of those in office, the excesses of the Inquisition, the cruel treatment of the subjected Indians, the senseless preponderance of the priests, all this is painted by Diogo do Conto in vivid colours.

Mathias de Albuquerque, and especially the count da Vidigueira, attempted to reform these appalling abuses, but all these vices were deep rooted, and no amount of cauterising could check the gangrene. The governors might consider themselves lucky that they yet, at least, possessed valiant soldiers, who did not bring dishonour on the name of Portugal in the wars, and who supported with the edge of their swords the trembling empire. During the government of Dom Francisco da Gama, a most important annexation was made. The last king of Ceylon, dethroned by his kinsman, Raju, and protected by Portuguese soldiers, bequeathed the island in gratitude to the Portuguese. It was the last ray of the dying lamp. As heralds of the approaching disasters

the Dutch ships appeared in the East. Of Cornelis Houtmann's four ships, two only, as we have said, returned home; of the other two, one was lost on the reefs, and the other was destroyed by the Portuguese; but in the following voyage they succeeded in evading vigilance. What other result was to be expected, when the natives welcomed them as liberators, and the Portuguese were always engaged in wars which prevented them from openly repulsing their rivals?

We have referred elsewhere to the conspiracy in favour of Mary Stuart, favoured by Philip II, and of how this incident resulted in the outbreak of hostilities between the courts of Madrid and London. Elizabeth Tudor decided to declare war against the Catholic king, and despatched Admiral Drake with a fleet of twenty-three ships, furnished with twenty-three hundred men, against the Spanish colonies. The first to fall a victim was the Portuguese colony of São Thiago, Cape Verd Islands, where the English admiral put in on his way to America, on the 16th of November, 1585. Thence the squadron continued its course, capturing various galleons on the way, some of which were bound to Lisbon.

Almost at the same time various African chiefs allied themselves against the Portuguese at the instigation of Ali Bey, despatched by the sultan of Turkey to subjugate to the viceroy of Egypt the petty kings who did homage to the crown of Portugal. Ali's first victory was not, however, of long duration, as in 1587 a squadron was despatched from India under command of de Mello, who compelled the sovereign of Patta to become a Portuguese vassal, and killed the king of Lamu. Proceeding to Mombasa, he laid waste that place, and put an end to the confederation which Ali Bey had organised. Shortly after, in 1589, the Turks again returned, but this time directed their attack against Melinde, which place had remained faithful. Thomé de Sousa Coutinho hastened from Goa with a fleet, and routed the Turks in the first encounter.

While in east Africa the native population, excited by the Turks, were using every endeavour to throw off the Portuguese yoke, in the west Paulo Dias de Novaes, founder of Loanda, was conquering the kingdom of Angola for the crown of Portugal, at the moment when Philip II was conquering the kingdom of Portugal for Castile. From that day to this the two settlements have remained in the possession of the Portuguese.

Affairs in Brazil were less prosperous. In 1591 the port of Santos was attacked by an English pirate, and the town of São Vicente was sacked and burned; four years later the storehouses of Recife were also sacked by another pirate of the same nation. Worse even than the English pirates were the Spanish defenders.

Before this time the French had already made various incursions into the colony, with the design of establishing themselves there. The province was saved by the patriotism of the residents of Pernambuco, who rushing to arms, under command of the governor, put an end to the French invasions. Enemies more terrible still succeeded them; these were the Dutch who were expelled only after a long and obstinate struggle, when Portugal had already recovered her liberty.

#### DOMESTIC DISASTER

To return to the kingdom, where, as we have said, public misery was aggravated by the losses caused to commerce by the pirates of hostile nations, who infested the seas, we must now add that frequently even the

ports were attacked. The most daring of these attempts was that made at Faro on the 22nd of July, 1596, where an English and a Dutch fleet put in, commanded by Admiral Effingham, who after entering the port of Cadiz and there burning a number of ships, and plundering at the same time thirty-three ships laden with merchandise of the Indies, made for the coasts of Portugal, and after landing three thousand soldiers on the shores of Algarve, plundered and laid waste the capital of that province. The English then made for Lagos, but the governor was able to repulse them.

We will conclude this account of the reign of Philip II by giving a résumé of the instructions he is said to have left to his son, and which, if they show the evil of his policy, are also an eloquent proof of how ambition will lead the clearest judgments astray, making them dream of impossible ventures, and waste their energy in useless projects. His advice was:

"That without examining into the justice of the case he should obtain complete dominion over Portugal, and once conquered, disorder and terror could be spread throughout Germany, France be conquered, the forces of England weakened, and the terror of the Spanish arms carried to the extreme north.

"That profiting by the advantages gained, his Catholic majesty could thereby get possession of the navigation of the Indies, found colonies wherever he thought fit, conquer new lands, establish an immense commerce, and subjugate all the countries he considered it to his advantage to subjugate. But above all he was to secure the respect of the Portuguese, as this was of the very greatest importance. That far from burdening them with taxes and subsidies, he should grant them all the privileges and favours to which they laid claim. When the kingdom was pacified and the people moulded to Spanish dominion, then he should begin to oppose these privileges, appointing from time to time, under various pretexts, Spanish magistrates who should insensibly mould the people to this.

"That he should strictly watch the duke of Braganza, closely examining into his actions, but always showing him every attention, until the opportunity offered of persecuting him and all his family. As for the rest of the nobility, the only course was to remove them from the country, sending them to fill honourable posts in Flanders, Germany, and Italy. Proceeding in this manner the kingdom of Portugal could be monopolised and reduced to a province, and the people rendered powerless to make any movement; but by burdening them with taxes and subsidies, their anger would be roused, and hatred awakened, which would be fatal to the Spanish monarchy.

"That his majesty should give the vice-royalty of the kingdom to some prince or princess of his house, to inspire the Portuguese with greater respect for the government, and spare them the repugnance of giving obedience to any other.

"That he should be no less careful in dividing up the house of Braganza; that they should contract no new alliances in Portugal; deprive them of all state dignities, which should be bestowed on Spanish subjects only, and finally prevent them from holding correspondence with foreign courts.

"That whenever disputes arose between the Spanish and Portuguese grandees it was most necessary to favour the latter, and at the same time to bestow the principal offices of the kingdom upon those who appeared the most attached to the court of Castile, and thus attract others with the hope of favours.

"That when there was no longer cause to fear the grandees, the nobility, and still less the people, then it would finally become necessary to destroy

the whole house of Braganza, deprive the Portuguese of all public ecclesiastical and secular offices, and give them to Spaniards, and govern the kingdom of Portugal as any other province forming part of the Spanish monarchy."

If the treacherous and immoral policy which Philip II counselled his heir to follow caused the ruin of the oppressed, it was no less fatal to the oppressors. After the death of the son of Charles V the decadence of the Spanish monarchy, the most vast and formidable of the sixteenth century, was rapid and profound. *f*

#### PHILIP II (1598-1621 A.D.)

Of Philip III of Spain (II of Portugal) we have only to say that in the course of his reign he once visited his Portuguese subjects. On this occasion the hungry and ambitious chivalry expected much from his liberality; but, except a few, all were disappointed. If he did not treat them with studied insult—a charge levelled at him by the Portuguese historians—he exhibited so great a predilection towards his hereditary subjects that he could not fail mortally to offend a people who would not even have been satisfied with an equal share of his attention. Yet many of them are just enough to blame the weakness, rather than the ill will of Philip: they contend that the truth was kept from him; that every art was taken to confirm his dislike to them as a nation; that the Castilian nobles behaved with intolerable haughtiness to their own; that, in everything, a studied contrast was drawn between the two classes of subjects; that taxes were imposed without the consent of the cortes, and strangers nominated to the most important offices—both violations of the compact signed at Thomar by the first Philip; and that revenues, appropriated to objects exclusively Portuguese, were diverted into the treasury of Madrid.

#### PHILIP III (PHILIP IV OF SPAIN) (1621-1640 A.D.)

If the Portuguese had so much reason to complain of the government of the second Philip, that of his son and successor was, doubtless, still more onerous, more insulting: a good one, like that of Philip I, would have been hated; a bad one would naturally add to the existing mass of discontent. That the weak, the profligate, and the unprincipled count-duke de Olivares could direct the affairs of this kingdom with advantage, either to it or to his royal master, will not be expected by anyone who has perused the account of his administration in Spain. There can be no doubt that, by forced loans, by intolerable taxes, and by using the native soldiers in foreign wars, he wished to break the proud spirit of the people—to make them the mere slaves of his will.

Finding themselves ground to the very earth by exactions, their complaints disregarded, their persons insulted, their prosperity at an end, we need not wonder that they began to meditate an escape from their yoke. They turned their eyes towards the duke of Braganza, the next heir in the order of succession.<sup>1</sup> That ambitious noble adopted a line of conduct which could not fail to forward his views. To the world he appeared absorbed by hunting, feasting, and other diversions; yet his emissaries were at work

[<sup>1</sup> See the chart of Portuguese successions on page 503.]

640 A.D.]

every part of the kingdom, fanning the flame of discontent, and teaching people to regard him as one able, at least, to effect their deliverance. Listening to their representations, but in a still greater degree to the rapacity of the revenue collectors, open insurrections appeared at Lisbon, at Braga, above all, at Evora, and were not quelled without much difficulty and bloodshed. Though pressed, the duke was too wise to declare himself at this moment: he knew that his combinations were not formed;<sup>2</sup> he therefore determined to await the silent but resistless course of events. The sequel soon justified his policy. The chief nobles, prelates, cavalleros, and clergy were suddenly summoned to Madrid. What could be the object of this mysterious, unexpected, and unparalleled mandate? Conjecture was: to disobey it would be dangerous; and a magnificent display of reticence immediately filled the road from Lisbon to the Spanish capital. What passed at the conference between the ministers and this deputation never be known; but that some extraordinary concession was required of them may be easily believed. That their consent was demanded to the incorporation of the Portuguese with the Spanish cortes, or that a certain number of deputies from the three estates should be summoned at the same time with those of Castile—in other words, that the kingdom should never be degraded to the rank of a province, is loudly affirmed by the Portuguese. The nobles probably returned the answer attributed to them—in an affair of such moment, they could do nothing without the sanction of a legitimate meeting of the cortes in their own country.

But another reason for this extraordinary mandate may be assigned, more probable than either. The court could not be ignorant of the disposition of the people towards the duke of Braganza, nor, perhaps, with his intrigues. Arrest might be resolved on: and, as it could not be effected in Portugal, where his connections were so numerous and powerful, he must be inveigled to Madrid. This supposition is confirmed by three facts: he had evaded obedience when summoned alone to the capital; he was not present now; the subsequent endeavours of the minister to draw him to Madrid were fruitless as they were ineffectual. Disappointed in his views, Olivares now proceeded more boldly: he ordered all the disposable troops in Portugal to march into Catalonia, and the duke of Braganza to place himself at their head. But the war of Catalonia concerned the Castilians only. Both nobles and people resolved to disobey the mandate; but, lest an open refusal should subject them to instant invasion, they merely demanded a little delay, until their preparations were matured.

In the meantime the duke of Braganza was pursuing his end with perseverance: knowing how suspicious was the Spanish court, how jealously every action was watched, he plunged more deeply into his favourite amusements, and asserted that, when the troops were ready to march, he should be wanting at his post. So well did he counterfeit his part, that many of the conspirators, believing that he had neither ambition nor compassion for his countrymen, declared their intention of soliciting his brother, Prince

<sup>1</sup> According to some historians the duke was really as indifferent as he seemed, and it was ambition of his wife and of his friends that did all the work for him.]

<sup>2</sup> "This movement reached Villa Viçosa, where the residents changed it to a rebellion, and in the cover of the night some of them proclaimed the duke of Braganza, eighth of the title, as the IV king of Portugal. But the time prescribed from centuries had not yet come; the duke was his son Dom Theodosio, duke de Barcellos, through the streets, and, although he was only a few years of age, the light of the great virtues which afterwards distinguished this excellent prince shone in his face, and he became as it were a rainbow of peace, and returned leaving the people pacified, and saved from anxiety the father whom a serious illness prevented from going himself to check the disturbance." — MENEZES, &c.]

[1640 A.D.]

Duarte, to head them. At length, when obedience or open refusal to the orders of the court was imperative, the conspirators hastened to Lisbon, and began their meetings. Their numbers increased; yet so artfully were their proceedings conducted, that they escaped the notice of the duchess of Mantua, the vice-queen.<sup>c</sup>

## ENNES' ACCOUNT OF THE CONSPIRACY

It is an old and lasting tradition that the conspirators assembled in the garden of the palace of Antonio de Almada, in a pavilion with stone benches, which had the advantage of a staircase communicating with the turret, where there was a secret door leading into the wood of Santa Anna, fronting the garden of the knight-commanders of the Incarnation. This door supplied an easy entrance to the conspirators, who never assembled all at one time, for fear of the enterprise being crushed with one blow, through treachery. A decision adopted by any seven was binding on all the rest. All the letters of the conspirators were written in an enigmatical manner against the possibility of seizure. Dom João was evidently not anxious to risk his fortune and greatness in a dangerous throw. Egoism was more powerful with him than patriotism, and the voice of prudence deadened the suggestions of ambition. The nobles were in despair, and began to discuss whether it would not be advisable to form a republican government if the duke persisted in his obstinacy.<sup>1</sup> But, thanks largely to the skilful efforts of João Pinto Ribeiro, the duke was won over. But when João Pinto attempted to kiss his hand, this the duke would not allow, saying with a smile, "Let us not buy the cabbage before the meat."

Upon his return to Lisbon, Pinto Ribeiro lost no time in assembling the nobles to communicate the news he brought from Villa Viçosa. He painted in colours more glowing than truthful the prince's enthusiasm and determination, and urged his good intentions of sharing the government of the kingdom with those who had given him the throne. João Pinto's communications were received with the greatest enthusiasm; he had received full power from the duke to adopt in his name any measures he thought fit. The plan of the revolution was then discussed, opinions at first being very varied, but eventually the most sensible opinion prevailed, which was that the nobles should make a surprise attack upon the palace, December 1st.

On Friday, the 30th of November, the last assembly of the nobles took place at the house of Dom Antão de Almada. None now recoiled before danger, and knowing that they were risking their lives, they prepared for death; nearly all confessed, and some made their wills, whilst others recommended their friends in religion to pray for their souls. The judge of the people, and other influential persons of the lower classes, had on this afternoon promised that their men would be ready to follow the nobles at the first summons. It was decided that they should assemble on the following day in the courtyard of the palace, and as nine o'clock struck some should attack the Spanish guard, whilst others should mount immediately to disarm the German guard, and seize all the entrances; upon which, some were to gain the verandas to attack the people, and proclaim Dom João and liberty, whilst others should seek the hated secretary Vasconcellos. The ministers had been warned repeatedly of the suspected assemblies at the house of Dom

[<sup>1</sup> This statement, which was made by Vertot in 1689 and is repeated by many historians, is denounced by Stephens as "absurd," though the Netherlands offered an easy analogy.]



[1640 A.D.]

Antão de Almada, and Vasconcellos received warning of the very day fixed upon the revolution. In spite of all, the conspirators did not meet with the slightest resistance! A few hours sufficed to conclude the revolution.

## CHAGAS' ACCOUNT OF THE 1ST OF DECEMBER (1640 A.D.)

The 1st of December dawned serene and clear! No clouds dimmed the aurora of Portuguese liberty. Who can divine the thoughts which assailed the conspirators at waking upon this cold winter morning to undertake this hazardous enterprise? Hiding her scalding tears behind a smile, Donna Filippa de Vilhena herself girded on the swords of her two sons, commanding them not to think upon her fate, but upon the fate of Portugal; declaring that to die for one's country when she lay groaning under oppression was still more beautiful than to live for one's mother. With the same manly resolution Donna Marianna de Lencastre blessed her two sons; and these two Spartan mothers, nobler indeed than the Spartans, for such rigid principles had not been instilled into them by a stoical education, left an heroic example to posterity.

From every quarter of the town the nobles and their followers came to the courtyard of the palace, some on foot, some on horseback, some in their carriages, not revealing the anxiety matured to so critical a moment, but with a calmness which gave no sign of what was about to occur. A little before nine all the conspirators were assembled in the courtyard. The soldiers were not alarmed at the carriages which continued to arrive, accustomed as they were to seeing the duchess' courtiers come to the palace; in those days business was earlier than in ours. The people, too, had not as yet assembled in great numbers. With their hands upon the doors of their carriages, the nobles impatiently waited the striking of the solemn hour.

Nine o'clock! The doors of all the carriages are thrown open simultaneously, the nobles descend, and while Jorge de Mello, Estevão da Cunha, Antonio de Mello e Castro, Father Nicolão da Maia, and others still wait in their carriages for the signal from the palace to attack the Spanish guard, the majority of the conspirators rapidly mount the stairs, enter the hall of the German archers, and giving them no time even to suspect what is about to happen, some throw down the stands of the halberds, others draw their swords, and the archers fly, astounded and disarmed. Some of them, whether because their halberds are not in the stands or because they are more determined, do their duty with a certain show of courage, and only fly after seeing two of their men fall to the ground, one dead, the other wounded. Meanwhile, drunk with joy, Dom Miguel de Almeida runs to a veranda, throws open the window, and brandishing a sword, cries out: "Liberty! Liberty! Long live the king Dom João IV. The duke de Braganza is our legitimate king!"

Tears prevented his further speech, and ran down to his white beard, which floated in the breeze blowing from the Tagus, whose waters were gilded by the sun riding triumphant in the heavens. He was answered by an immense cry of enthusiasm and joy; "Liberty! Liberty!" shouted the people with one voice. And in the heroic Dom Miguel de Almeida, this venerable old man of eighty years, radiant with youthful ardour, all saw the symbol of Portugal, decrepit and broken, but illuminated in this hour of her resurrection by the reflection of the splendour of her eras of glory. Those in the courtyard did not limit themselves merely to this unanimous

response. Before the Spanish guard could grasp the meaning of the cry of liberty, which thundered above their heads, Jorge de Mello and his men fell upon them with drawn swords and pistols cocked. They attempted to resist, but the suddenness of the attack and the ardour of our men rendered resistance vain.

Meanwhile Miguel de Vasconcellos had been warned that something was occurring. He was yet in bed and had scarcely time to dress, when, following on the warning, a strange noise was heard in the corridors. Pale with fear he ran to the door and locked it on the inside, and immediately heard the nobles knocking furiously at the door, when the wood was shivered with the hatchets they had brought to break it down. Thereupon, seeing that he was lost, he seized a loaded musket and shut himself into a cupboard full of papers. There holding his breath, his forehead bathed with the sweat of anguish, he heard the door give way; the nobles entered like a torrent, and blaspheming, searched in every corner of the apartment. His safety hung on a thread; as, not finding him, the conspirators were about to make their way to the department of India, to which place they presumed he had fled, when the narrowness of his hiding-place caused Vasconcellos to make a slight movement. It was heard; with a shout of ferocious joy they rushed upon his hiding-place; a few shots were fired, two balls pierced his throat, and he fell dead, the blood spouting from him. After killing him, the avengers of their country abandoned him, and it was the servants who threw the body of the hated minister out of the window. When the tumultuous crowd of people who filled the courtyard saw the body of their oppressor thus contemptuously thrown out, they gave a roar of triumph and in the satisfying of their eagerly desired vengeance there was no insult which they did not heap on the pitiful remains.

While the nobles rushed from the secretary's apartments to those of the vice-queen, the people with shouts of enthusiasm crossed the courtyard, shouting, "Liberty!" And meanwhile the rabble—who ever desecrate victory and insult the conquered, who to-day drag in the mire their oppressors and to-morrow their liberators—surrounded Vasconcellos' body, dragging out his beard, putting out his eyes, and foolishly laughing at the infamous jests of a Moorish slave of the victim, who, seated on the corpse, mocked at and execrated him before whom he had trembled when alive. On the following day the body of the unfortunate wretch was yet in the courtyard, and seeing it João Pinto Ribeiro expressed his astonishment that none had shown Christian piety to him who had so cruelly expiated his faults. Some of Ribeiro's men carried the body away in a skiff.

The duchess of Mantua had already heard the noise, and coming to the window, she cried out in a loud voice: "What is this, Portuguese? Where is your loyalty?" Meanwhile some of the conspirators, having forced open all the doors they had found closed, courteously compelled her to withdraw from the window. She wished to descend to the courtyard, and as the nobles prevented her: "Enough, gentlemen!" she cried, "the guilty minister has already paid for his sins. Go no further, I pledge my word that the king of Castile shall not merely pardon you, but shall thank you for having delivered the kingdom from the excesses of the secretary." The nobles replied that they no longer recognised any king but Dom João de Braganza. This answer so enraged her that Dom Charles de Noronha begged her to retire before they lost respect for her. "For me!—how?" she inquired haughtily. "By obliging your highness to leave by the window, if you will not go in by this door," replied the noble in tones equally haughty. Realising that

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under the circumstances resistance was folly, the princess gave way and withdrew to her oratory.

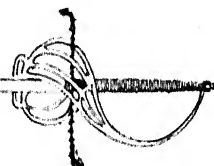
The nobles dispersed through the town to rouse public enthusiasm with the cry of victory, and in a short time the multitude rushed through the streets drunk with joy. A vast cry arose of "Miracle! miracle!" and from mouth to mouth the report spread, that the arm of the Christ on the crucifix, carried by one of the chaplains, had unmailed itself to bless the people. This incident, which probably had been prepared, produced an enormous effect, exciting the imagination and rousing popular enthusiasm. Many prisoners had been set at liberty, and it was feared that they would commit great acts of vengeance; but on the contrary numerous reconciliations took place of long standing enemies, and not one act of violence occurred throughout the city. At eleven in the morning the town had already peaceably resumed its usual occupations.

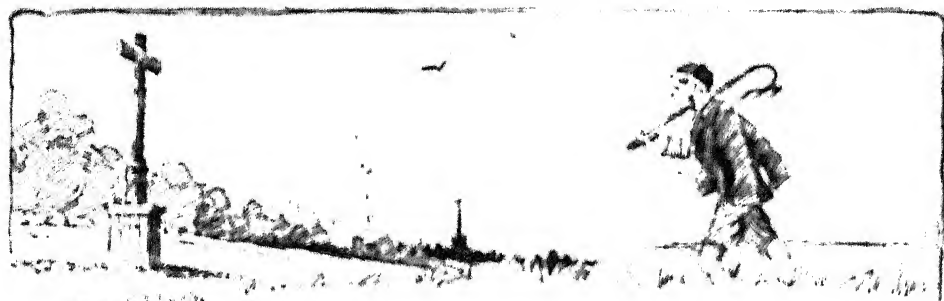
Meanwhile the government was careful to take all necessary measures to secure public order, stationing companies of militia at different posts. The fortresses surrendered peaceably and the commander of the galleons at anchor in the Tagus was convinced of the uselessness of bombardment and perhaps feared reprisals.

On the same day, Pedro de Mendonça and Jorge de Mello set out for Villa Viçosa; they found Dom João in the chapel, who having heard the news with calmness, commanded the divine office to be continued. This being concluded, he entered a carriage and set out for Lisbon escorted merely by a few mounted servants, being enthusiastically received in all the towns and lands through which he passed. He reached the capital on the 6th.

The speed with which the revolution spread in the provinces is a proof how eagerly liberty was desired. A few days sufficed for a yoke of sixty years<sup>1</sup> to be thrown off, and the Spanish monarchy, yet powerful, could not resist a disarmed and weak people, to whom invincible energy was lent by the thirst for liberty and the despair born of oppression.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> This is the period from 1580-1640 which the Portuguese love to call the "Sixty Years' Captivity."]





#### CHAPTER IV

#### JOÃO IV TO JOÃO VI

[1640-1647 A.D.]

THE revolution thus wisely planned, secretly matured, and happily executed, was now complete. Portugal had recovered her independence, and replaced the legitimate descendant and representative of her ancient sovereigns upon the throne. João IV was crowned on the 1st of December, and immediately abolished the heavy taxes imposed by the king of Spain, declaring that, for his own private expenses, he required nothing beyond his patrimonial estates. He summoned the cortes or assembly in January, when the three estates of the kingdom solemnly confirmed his proclamation as king, or acclamation, as the Portuguese term it, probably to express the spontaneous unanimity with which he was chosen. The cortes further acknowledged his eldest son Theobald as heir-apparent, and voted ample supplies of men and money, to resist the expected Spanish invasion.

In the islands, in the African settlements, with the single exception of Ceuta, which adhered to Spain, and in what remained of Brazil and India, King João was proclaimed, the moment intelligence of the revolution arrived, the Spaniards scarcely anywhere attempting to resist. In Brazil the viceroy communicated the tidings to Count Maurice of Nassau, the governor of the Dutch conquests, who ordered public rejoicings for the emancipation of Portugal; but Nassau refused either to restore his conquests to their legitimate possessor, or even to desist from further aggression. The Dutch governors and admirals in India proved equally unaccommodating.

In Europe, the new king was readily acknowledged by all the states at war with the house of Austria. He concluded treaties of alliance with France, England, Sweden, and even with Holland, a doubtful ally, in the last instance, reserved for future negotiation and adjustment. The pope refused to receive João's ambassador; and the Spanish ambassador at Rome, with the aid of a band of assassins, attempted his life. Several persons were slain on both sides, though the intended victim escaped.

It is possible that, had Olivares immediately applied himself with vigour to reduce Portugal, unarmed as she then was, with an empty exchequer and an unorganised government, she might have been again subjugated. Fortu-

[1640-1647 A.D.]

nately for her the count-duke looked upon the insurrection with a contempt that averted the danger. He announced the event to Philip, by wishing him joy of the forfeiture of the duke of Braganza's large estates; and, influenced partly by disdain for the Portuguese, partly by excessive exasperation against the Catalans, he positively rejected all advice to send against Portugal the army preparing for Catalonia. He thus gave Portugal all she needed — time; and a very few months saw her in a condition to maintain and defend the independence she had recovered. Olivares was not, indeed, altogether inactive with regard to Portugal and her king, but his measures were rather those of a petty intriguer than of a great statesman. He prevailed upon the emperor, Ferdinand III, to seize and imprison João's brother Dom Duarte, who was then serving as a general in the imperial armies. He appears likewise to have instigated the plots and conspiracies by which the new Portuguese government was, for a while, considerably disturbed. The first of these was perhaps the most formidable, being conducted by the primate, the inquisitor-general, and many of the chief nobility, including some connected, by blood or marriage, with João. Not less than six hundred persons, of different ranks, are said to have been concerned in the plot, the object of which was to kill the king and submit Portugal again to Spain. Various stories are told as to how the conspiracy was detected. The following seems the most probable. The archbishop, it is said, endeavoured to seduce the Count of Vimieira to join in the scheme, relying on that nobleman's supposed anger at his ill treatment by the king, who had deprived him of the government of Alentejo. The prelate had mistaken his man. The count's loyalty was superior to his resentment, and the aggrieved nobleman immediately revealed the plot to the king.

The whole project was known to the government, and preparations were quietly made for defeating it; a grand review was ordered, and the principal ringleaders were invited to the palace for the occasion. They went fearlessly, were there made prisoners without difficulty, and the number of troops present prevented any rising in the city. The prisoners were tried and convicted; about ten persons were executed; the primate and inquisitor-general were imprisoned for life; and the remainder were pardoned. The duchess of Mantua was sent back to Spain, under the idea that she had fomented the conspiracy; and the only person for whom Dom Duarte might have been exchanged being thus dismissed, the unhappy prince languished out the remainder of his days in prison. The next plot was entirely hatched at Madrid, where Olivares engaged a Portuguese fugitive to murder João. The man made every arrangement, but his courage failed him at sight of his intended victim, and he fled, without perpetrating his meditated crime. By increased bribes, Olivares induced the villain to renew the attempt, when he was betrayed by an accomplice, seized, and executed. A base fraud, contrived to deprive the king of the ablest of his ministers, Lucena, secretary of state, answered better.

The two countries were now decidedly at war, but their languid and desultory hostilities produced little effect beyond harassing the frontiers. Portugal was weak, and thought only of self-defence; Spain was chiefly intent upon chastising the Catalans.<sup>b</sup>

The Portuguese were at first successful, and after the defeat which Mathias de Albuquerque inflicted on the baron of Mollingen at Montijo on May 26th, 1644, felt at their ease, until it became obvious that Mazarin would desert them without compunction if it suited his purpose. The colonial war with Holland deprived them of the assistance of the Dutch in

[1647-1663 A.D.]

Europe. Mazarin's refusal to insist on their independence at the congress at Münster, though he protected their envoys against the Spaniards, made them despondent; and a very curious letter of Mazarin's (October 4th, 1647), offering the crown of Portugal to the duke of Longueville, exhibits at once the feeble character of João IV [who had timidly offered to abdicate], the despair of the Portuguese, and their dependence on France. Mazarin's desertion did not at first do great harm, for the war between France and Spain continued, though peace was made with the empire.<sup>c</sup> In the war which, notwithstanding their alliance in Europe, the Portuguese prosecuted against the Dutch in their colonies, they displayed much of their original valour and energy. In Brazil they gradually recovered their lost possessions.<sup>b</sup> But if the arms of João were successful in Brazil and Africa, in India they met with many reverses. In several engagements the Dutch had the advantage; and, in 1655, they succeeded in wholly expelling the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon.

João died in 1656. His eldest son, Prince Theodosio, preceded him to the tomb. Three other children survived him: (1) Catherine, married to Charles II king of England; (2) the infante Alfonso, who, by the death of Theodosio, was heir to the monarchy; (3) the infante Pedro, who, as we shall soon perceive, succeeded Alfonso.

## ALFONSO VI (1656-1667 A.D.)

As the new king was only in his thirteenth year, and had exhibited no proofs of understanding, but a waywardness which would have adorned a savage, the queen-mother was intrusted with the regency.

The administration of this princess — a lady of the house of Guzman, her father being the eighth duke of Medina Sidonia — was distinguished for prudence and spirit. As a Castilian, she was at first obnoxious to the people, who suspected that she must have a leaning towards her own country; but the vigour with which she prepared for war, and the perseverance with which she conducted it, prove that the suspicion was injurious. We cannot advert to the interminable and trifling events which followed, where the combat of a few hundreds is described with as much minuteness as if whole nations had been embattled on each side; where the destruction of a hundred enemies is hailed with as much exultation as if the force of Attila had been annihilated; and the whole campaign was disgraced by the most deplorable imbecility, on the part both of the Portuguese and the Spanish leaders, until the count de Schomberg and Don John of Austria were opposed to each other. After the Peace of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, when Catalonia was pacified, and the Spanish troops were at liberty to turn their undivided force against Portugal, no doubt was entertained that this country would be subdued. But the queen-regent did not neglect to strengthen the national cause by alliances. Some French, Dutch, and English adventurers, under Schomberg, were obtained; the infanta Catherine, with the fortress of Tangier and a large sum of money, were given to Charles II as the condition of his alliance, and for the aid of some English regiments. Schomberg sustained so much opposition, so much jealousy and ill will from the chiefs associated with him, that he could not prevent Don John from obtaining some rapid successes. Among them was the conquest of Evora. But this advantage was soon neutralised by a signal victory attained over the Castilians; it was still further improved by the recovery of Evora — both monuments of Schomberg's ability



1662-1667 A.D.]

and of English valour. Don John was deprived of the command. This change was fortunate for Portugal; for the new general was so signally defeated at Villaviciosa, that it may be said to have secured the independence of that kingdom. This was the last noted exploit during the reign of Alfonso.

During these hostilities the court of Lisbon exhibited strange scenes. The depraved tastes, the low and profligate habits, the headstrong perversity of the king daily acquired strength, and afforded a melancholy prospect to the nation. He associated with the lowest of the people; he introduced them into his palace; or accompanied them in nocturnal expeditions, undertaken as much for bloodshed as for mere mischief. His band of young companions became the terror of the capital. By his caprices several youths are said to have been tortured to death; and young girls to have suffered a still worse fate: all his diversions partook of his savage and capricious character. So long as he confined them to boxing in the ring, to wrestling, or to breaking the windows by night, the citizens, however scandalised at such conduct, did not much complain; but when their daughters were seduced, or their sons ill used by the royal satellites, even they began to think that a king might do wrong. When common prostitutes were brought to the palace, which was thereby converted into a brothel, their indignation yielded to contempt. The influence of the queen was ineffectual. At length the indignant nobles, at her instigation, forcibly seized two brothers, the vilest and most dangerous of his satellites, and sent them away to Brazil; but other creatures were found to supply their place.

With all his stupidity, the royal brute felt that he was a king; he knew that the time of his majority was long past; he insisted on being invested with the regal authority in all its extent; and, after a struggle between him and his mother, he forced her, in June, 1662, to resign the regency. The removal of so salutary a rein on his excesses could not fail to make things worse. The licentious youths with whom he surrounded himself disgusted at their conduct the oldest servants of the crown, and forced them to retreat from their public offices. His own extravagances increased. His satellites ranged the streets, or scoured the highways, night and day; they not unfrequently returned with plunder, oftener still with their swords stained with blood. We are told that he even charged the people in a public procession; that he instigated the assassination of some obnoxious nobles; that, to show his contempt of a comet which was believed to be the forerunner of some great change, he fired a pistol at it, at the same time reviling it with the lowest terms of scurrility.

It was hoped that, if a wife were procured him, he would, at least, refrain from some excesses; and one was found in Mademoiselle d'Aumale, daughter of the duke of Normours. But he treated his beautiful queen with open neglect; he disregarded alike her entreaties, her tears, and her remonstrances; and did the death of his mother make the slightest change in his conduct.

But the strangest part of these transactions remains to be told. That the queen-mother had resigned her authority with reluctance is certain; that she entertained thoughts of procuring the transfer of the sceptre from Alfonso to Pedro is confirmed by the general tenor of her actions. It is no less true that Pedro aspired to supplant his brother; that he intrigued with the nobles and prelates for that end; and that, by the outward decorum of his conduct, and scrupulous regard to the decencies of his station, he laboured to make the contrast between himself and the king too marked to be overlooked. Equally certain it is that no one observed this contrast more narrowly than



[1667-1668 A.D.]

the youthful queen, who soon formed a suspicious connection with the infante. That their plans for the future were soon arranged, is evident enough from the sequel. When Pedro's plans were matured, when he had interested a considerable party in his behalf, he sought an open rupture — and he had causes enough — with the king. In October, 1667, a furious mob, which had been gained by his emissaries, conducted him to the palace, insisting that justice should be done him on his enemies. On the 21st of November, the queen hastily left the palace, and retired to the convent of St. Francis. Her pretext was the ill-usage she hourly received from Alfonso. The true reason for so extraordinary a step appeared in a letter in which, after adverting to her domestic sorrows, she surprised the public by saying that her marriage was, from its origin, null; that it had never been consummated.

The perusal of this extraordinary letter filled Alfonso with indignant wonder. He hastened to the convent, and on being refused admission, he ordered the gates to be broken; but his brother, arriving with an escort, persuaded or compelled him to depart. No sooner was he retired, than the infante had a long interview with her. The subject of their conversation appeared from a letter to the chapter of Lisbon, which contained the same charge of impotence against the king. The counsellors of state forced him to sign an act of renunciation. He was then arrested, and sentenced to perpetual confinement, but with permission to enjoy the comforts of life. In conclusion, Pedro was proclaimed regent; and, in that character, was recognised by an assembly of the states. By his creatures, the same states were persuaded to petition the queen, who no longer showed any inclination to leave the kingdom, that she would accept the hand of so deserving a prince. She required no solicitation. Her uncle the cardinal Vendôme, anxious that his family should contain a queen, expedited it without delay. The marriage was celebrated in haste, lest a papal inhibition should arrive, and blast the fruit of so many intrigues. Subsequently, an application was made to the pope, to confirm the dispensation of the cardinal; and Clement, who saw that the mischief was done, admitted the allegation of impotence, and despatched the brief of confirmation.

Thus concluded one of the most extraordinary scenes that has ever been exhibited to the eyes of mankind — extraordinary alike for effrontery and duplicity. However the constitution of Alfonso might have been impaired by debauchery, he was not impotent. No one labouring under such a disability would have been at the trouble either of visiting the public stews or of introducing women of loose morals into the palace. But, without insisting on this presumptive evidence, we are positively informed that Alfonso had one child at least by his favourite mistress. If the *debitum conjugale* had never been paid, why should a circumstance so important to the kingdom be concealed during sixteen months? Why should it be mentioned, for the first time, when Pedro was ready to usurp the crown? The whole proceeding is explicable enough. The queen felt that she was neglected; she admired the infante, and was gained by him as an accessory to the long meditated plot of dethroning the king. The means adopted by these paramours were even more daring, more indicative of the contempt with which they regarded public opinion, than the end itself.

Before this iniquitous consummation of ambition and lust, Pedro had the glory of ending the long dispute with Spain. Both nations were exhausted by their past exertions, and both naturally inclined for peace. It was concluded at Lisbon, under the mediation of Charles II, king of England. By it all conquests made by either party were restored, and the subjects of each

[1668-1706 A.D.]

nation admitted to the privileges enjoyed by the most favoured people. The arms of Portugal were immediately erased from the escutcheon of the Spanish monarchy. This was almost the only transaction of moment in which the regent was engaged, from his marriage to the death of Alfonso. There was, indeed, a conspiracy formed to restore that prince; but it was easily detected and its authors punished. That unfortunate monarch was first removed to the Azores; and then transferred to the palace of Cintra, where, in 1683, he ended his days. The same year was fatal to the queen, who left no other issue than a daughter, the infanta Isabella.

PEDRO II (1683-1706 A.D.); JOÃO V (1706-1750 A.D.)

On the death of Alfonso, the coronation of the new king was celebrated with the usual pomp and circumstance. His reign, like his regency, was passed in profound peace, and consequently furnishes no materials for history, until the celebrated War of the Spanish Succession, following the demise of Charles II, called him into the field. The motives which induced him to take part with the allies against Philip V have been already explained, and the chief events of the war have been related in the history of Spain.<sup>1</sup>

During the reigns of Alfonso and Pedro, the affairs of India continually declined. The Dutch, the most persevering enemies that ever assailed the Portuguese empire in the East, not satisfied with the richest settlements in Malacca and in the India islands, prepared to expel the subjects of his most faithful majesty from the continent. The latter were insulted, sometimes defeated, within sight of Goa. In 1660, they blockaded the bar of Goa, thereby preventing the annual sailing of merchandise for Lisbon. Bombay was delivered to the English. In 1665, Diu was plundered by the Moham-medans, three thousand of the inhabitants being led into hopeless captivity, the rest put to the sword. Finally, Cochin was reduced by the king of Travancore, and the Portuguese empire in India was confined to Goa, Diu, and a few commercial settlements on the coast of Malabar and in the islands. The African and Brazilian possessions continued unimpaired.

By his second queen, a princess of Bavaria, Pedro had several children, most of whom, however, died either in infancy or without issue. He was succeeded, in 1706, by the infante João, born in 1688.<sup>2</sup>

Dom Pedro's successor was but eighteen years of age. Lacking in experience and doubtless desirous of equalling his father's glory, he did not know how to get out of the dangerous political course which Portugal was pursuing and he continued to take part in the war of succession to the sole profit of England and Holland. This persistence was all the more deplorable as

[<sup>1</sup> "On December 27th, 1703, the famous Methuen Treaty was signed, by which Portuguese wines might be imported into England at a lower duty than those from France and Germany, in return for a similar concession to English manufactured goods. The immediate result of this treaty was that King Pedro acknowledged the archduke Charles, the English candidate, as king of Spain, and that he gave the English a base of operations in the peninsula. The ulterior result was that Englishmen in the eighteenth century drank port wine instead of claret and hock, while the Portuguese imported everything they wanted beyond the bare necessities of life from England. This was an advantage to both nations, for Portugal is eminently an agricultural country with neither the teeming population nor the materials necessary for manufactures, while England obtained a friendly province from which to import the wine and produce of a southern soil, and a market for the sale of the products of her manufactories. The close connection thus formed went deeper than mere commerce; it established a friendly relationship between the two peoples, which was of infinite advantage to the smaller nation."—STEPHENS.<sup>2</sup>

We shall see later that the Portuguese felt the treaty less a blessing than an incubus on their power to develop manufactures of their own.]

[1706-1715 A.D.]

the success of the allies in Spain was not long maintained. Scarcely had João V become king when Philip V returned to Madrid in the midst of enthusiastic acclamations and the duke of Berwick achieved over the combined forces of De las Minas and Galway the brilliant victory of Almansa (April 25th, 1707). The Portuguese, against whom the efforts of the Spanish and French were especially directed, lost thirteen regiments and they were unable to hold the positions they had taken. Far from profiting by the hard lesson that fortune had administered to him, João V lost no time in rebinding through marriage the political alliances that his father had adopted; he married Maria Anna of Austria, sister of the emperor Joseph I and of the archduke Charles, Philip V's rival, and celebrated this brilliant union with the most magnificent fêtes that Portugal had ever seen.

All this did not prevent Philip's taking each day a more marked advantage. Victor at Badajoz, victor at Villaviciosa, he invaded Portugal in turn; it became evident that whatever else might happen this prince would at least keep the crown of Castile. The victory of the allies at Saragossa completely disappeared amid all these disasters. But what was much more unfortunate still was that Portugal nearly lost Brazil, which was the sole possession that would permit her henceforth to cut some sort of figure in the world. It was the very moment when new explorers had just discovered the opulent mines of Goyaz and the Matto-Grosso that a Spanish-French fleet under the command of the valiant Duguay-Trouin put in an appearance. Powerful with its seven vessels and eight frigates it had no difficulty in forcing the channel to Rio de Janeiro, and after it had landed its forces there was no resistance (September 14th, 1711). Soldiers and inhabitants quickly evacuated the town, taking refuge with their valuables in the neighbouring mountains. Brazil's fate would doubtless have been settled there and then had it not been for the grave troubles with which France was at that time overwhelmed, and especially for the small number of soldiers assigned to the expedition. Duguay-Trouin had to content himself with sacking Rio de Janeiro and making it pay a ransom of 600,000 cruzados. Instead of a conqueror he was only a devastator, but he went far towards making the Portuguese appreciate all the advantages of the English alliance, and brought back to exhausted France a booty of over twenty-five millions of francs.

The Portuguese, however, were still more convinced by the events which were taking place at the same time in Europe. In taking part in the prolonged quarrels of which Charles II's succession had been the source, England had but a single aim in view—to inflame the whole of western Europe and take advantage of the conflagration to obtain ascendancy over the seas. Just as soon as she had obtained her end by destroying the remains of the French and Spanish navy, by reducing Portugal to the state of a colony, and by making herself sure of the Mediterranean by the rascally occupation of Gibraltar and Minorca, then, having no further interest in continuing the war, she withdrew and was the first to accept Louis XIV's proposals. But what could the powerless João V do without her? He had to come to terms, or be conquered; and lost in negotiating all the fine hopes that the allies had held before his eyes. The Peace of 1713 with France simply stipulated that the most Christian king renounce all claims upon Brazil, that King Philip V would arrange matters in a manner agreeable to Portugal, and that England would be responsible for the carrying out of the agreed-upon conditions. That of February 6th, 1715, with Philip V gave the territory and colony of Colonia del Sacramento to Portugal in exchange for Albuquerque which had been taken from Castile. And so all the money spent

and all the blood spilled, devoted, after all, to establishing England's supremacy, had brought nothing to Portugal but an impoverished and subdued kingdom, unless we may consider as sufficient consolation João V's honour of being mentioned first in the text of the treaty.

Scarcely had João emerged from this terrible twelve years' struggle when the Venetians asked his assistance against the Ottomans. Too devout to reject such a petition, he hastened to send them the count of Rio Grande and a few ships, without any other object than that of sustaining the Christians against the infidels. But in spite of all the great questions over which Europe was still divided, this war was henceforth the only war into which he let himself be dragged. On the contrary he took care to maintain the friendliest relations with Castile, which he should never have ceased to do. He made this union the closer by two marriages—that of his eldest son José, prince of Brazil, with Doña Maria Anna Victoria, daughter of Philip V; and that of the infanta Maria Barbara with the prince of the Asturias (1728). Perhaps we may even reproach João V with having carried his desire to oblige Spain too far by giving up the Philippines and by exchanging the rich colony of Colonia del Sacramento, with all the northern region of La Plata, for a few small colonies in Paraguay, between the Ibicuhy and the Uruguay, which the Jesuits, possessors of all the territory, did not wish to give up (1750). But by this time João V was dying, and the Recollet friar, Gaspard de Incarnação, who ruled in his name, was solely responsible for this foolish concession.

#### *The Colonies Decline*

At peace with Europe and patronised by England, did not João V employ at least a portion of the daily increasing wealth which Brazil poured into his hands to maintain the few colonies which still remained to him in the Indies? He did nothing of the kind; and while the Mahrattas drove the Portuguese from Sandomir, Salsette, Thana, Barcain, Senapour, and Karanja, the Dutch, English, and French had every reason to claim the domination of the Orient. In a short time the viceroys of the Indies, no longer daring to inhabit the ancient palace of the Albuquerque and the Castros, lived modestly in the small village of Panjim. What had become of magnificent Goa, and Diu, and Calicut, queen of Malabar? They were already nothing but ruins; a century had sufficed to reduce a powerful empire to a pile of rubbish.

Far from devoting to useful enterprise the riches which fortune showered upon him, João V let the navy, army, and administration constantly decline. He seemed to have no other aim than to emulate the pomp of Louis XIV; but he forgot that Louis reigned over France and that the latter found all the elements of the luxury he displayed in the industry of the kingdom, while Portugal could not obtain them except by exhausting herself to the profit of foreigners. Such was João V's generosity with his courtiers, his mistresses, his feasts, and his buildings that, with the great nobles following his example, poverty soon arrived, in spite of America. It has been estimated that between 1699 and 1756 there came from Brazil 2,400,000,000 francs, and that Portugal retained but a very small portion. All the rest, that is to say nearly nine-tenths, went to England, either in exchange for merchandise or as the price of transporting the metal, which became hers after all.

It was not sufficient that England should levy such a tribute on Portuguese indolence. Not less zealous for his religious practices than for his

pleasures, João V had the idea of establishing a patriarchal legate at Lisbon. and before Rome could agree to this he had to expend enormous sums. He did the same in order that Portugal might possess under this legate a Latin church almost the equal of St. Peter's, and this contained not less than sixty-six mitred canons at a salary of 5,000 cruzados each. Add to this the construction of the magnificent monastery of Mafra for three hundred monks, with its park twelve miles in length, the gorgeous procession, the collections of pious books to which the public was not allowed access, and what is worse still, the *auto-da-fé* which the Inquisition made him celebrate with great pomp, and we can realise that he spent on all this appearance of religion at least 500,000,000 francs. It is true that he was recompensed. Grateful Rome granted him the title of "most faithful king" in 1748.

While such follies are discrediting the reign, is it permissible to rehabilitate a prince because he founded a Portuguese academy or an academy of history — because he softened the national manners almost to enervation — because he introduced into his country French customs and Italian music in place of a real civilisation whose establishment the Inquisition would however never have tolerated? But how explain, on the other hand, that far from cursing João V's memory, the Portuguese have always held it in great veneration? It was because the riches of Brazil struck them all with the same giddiness as they struck him, because his ostentatious piety conformed to the tastes of the nation, because if he fought with his ministers and occupied himself more with theological disputes than with government, he was accessible and kind to all his subjects, and could use those happy words which too often take the place of real merit.

The esteem given João V by Portugal seems to us to be his own condemnation. What is war without greatness, peace without prosperity, devotion without piety? And in these words we may sum up João's reign. We shall not dwell on the final extinction of the ancient Portuguese liberties whose form had at least survived. João V never convoked the cortes until public tranquillity was threatened with some blow, and yet no one protested. The régime of the Inquisition had produced its usual effect.

The last years of João V were as sad as the others had been brilliant. Stricken with paralysis in 1744, he found a little relief in the baths of Caldas da Rainha, but this treatment soon ceased to benefit him, and he could do nothing but pass the rest of his existence far from the luxury and fêtes of which he had been so fond. Thenceforth the king of Portugal was the Recollet Gaspard, who, with even less ability in the art of government than his master, had at least the merit of proving himself more economical. For some time João had contracted the costly habit of having masses for all the Portuguese of whose deaths he could learn. Gaspard took care to deceive him as to the deaths which occurred in Lisbon, lest he should send, as they said, all the living to hell in getting the dead out of purgatory.<sup>f</sup>

João died in July, 1750. By his queen, Maria Anna of Austria, João had a numerous issue; but three children only survived him — Maria Barbara, queen of Spain, his successor, José, and the infante Dom Pedro.<sup>e</sup>

#### THE REIGN OF JOSÉ I

On September 7th, 1750, the new king was proclaimed with all the usual pomp and circumstance. He found the treasury empty, the army existing in name only; but, as someone has remarked with a certain semblance of



[1750-1751 A.D.]

accuracy, he found the popular instincts directed towards commerce, and a remarkable readiness to enter on a path of ameliorated industries. But none the less the Methuen Treaty was at that time manifesting all its consequences, and laid a spell of inertia on the most active minds, even on those who, by their continual contact with a commercial and manufacturing nation, were filled with dreams for their country of improvements which only a strong and independent genius could bring about.

At this epoch Brazil had become an inexhaustible resource for the mother-country in all financial embarrassments. December, 1750, witnessed the arrival at Lisbon of the fleet, richly loaded, on which so many hopes were built each succeeding year. From a generous impulse, for which the colonies were most grateful to him, one of the new king's first acts was aimed at the political betterment of the rich province of Minas from which he drew so much of his wealth; he abolished the poll-tax, which was paid as a right of seignior, and in 1751 he established at Rio de Janeiro a tribunal of *relação* [*i.e.*, a court of appeal], a real and well-felt advantage for that country, since in former times trials of any importance lasted an eternity, being brought to Lisbon for judgment.

But with the question of important improvements, and the directing of wide measures, the name of one other than the reigning sovereign flows involuntarily from the historian's pen—that of the great statesman Pombal, who gave his country so mighty an impulse. To José belongs the supreme merit of discerning the merits of this extraordinary man. There is perhaps something of injustice in comparing the king with Louis XIII, as is so frequently done; for he had at all events sufficient firmness of character always to approve the acts of the man he had willingly chosen. On January 19th, 1729, José I had married (during his father's lifetime) Doña Maria Anna Victoria, daughter of Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese. This lady should have married Louis XV and had never become wholly resigned to the bitterness of her memories. In politics she was not only always opposed to France, but, later, she openly posed as a formidable enemy to the powerful man to whose hands her royal husband had intrusted the destinies of the nation.<sup>9</sup>

#### *The Great Minister Pombal*

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello,<sup>1</sup> who was created count of Oeyras and afterwards marquis of Pombal, whom we shall hereafter call by the last and shortest name, had been introduced to King João V, who was a person of a sickly constitution; he however made himself intolerable to the king by his incessant fertility in plans and projects. In order to remove him from the court, he was first sent on some trifling affairs to London, and secondly upon business of graver importance to Vienna. In these cities he became acquainted with the French philosophy and the new theories of political economy and state-craft, and convinced that the Jesuits, who exercised unlimited dominion in Portugal, and had the whole system of instruction completely in their hands, had kept his countrymen more than a century behind the spirit of the age. The queen of Portugal, who was an Austrian princess, had the management of the government during the very frequent attacks of absence of mind and incapacity under which her husband laboured.

[<sup>1</sup> Pombal was born in 1699 of a wealthy and well-connected family, entered in the army as a private, but saw no service and retired; he then led a life of roistering notoriety, and had eloped with a niece of the count of Arcos. He was forty years old before he had an official position, and fifty-one before he became minister to the king.]



[1741-1751 A.D.]

Pombal had been employed by her in the execution of affairs of various kinds in Vienna, and he no sooner married her friend the countess Daun, than she resolved to recall him from his embassy and to take him into the ministry in Lisbon.

King João died immediately after the arrival of Pombal in Lisbon, and it was very easy for Pombal to make himself indispensable. The young king was of an indolent character, shrunk from every effort, was licentious and extravagant, but entertained a childish fear of his wife, from whom he carefully concealed his amours. He was as superstitious as the humblest peasant of his superstitious nation, he was as cowardly as Pombal was courageous, and the latter kept him in such a continual state of suspicion and anxiety that the king from fear resigned everything into his hands in order to secure his favour and protection.

Wraxall,<sup>4</sup> who only first became acquainted with Pombal when he was seventy years of age, speaks of his features, his giant build, and his language as characteristic of all that energy which he had exhibited for twenty-seven years in the public administration; it would appear therefore as if nature had from the first designed him for a reformer and dictator. In order to lessen and correct our ideas of the cruelties which he practised in his reforms, we must remember that in Asia, Africa, and southern Europe our cold and tedious morality is completely unknown, and compensated for by warm feelings of religion, which take heaven by violence; and, moreover, no one except a monarchical Danton or Robespierre would have been able to snatch Portugal from its state of powerless subjection to the institutions of the Middle Ages. Pombal appeared to have been raised up to organise a monarchical system of terror, and he alone could have succeeded in bringing Portugal nearer to the other states of Europe and to the spirit of the new age.

The first contest of the minister after he was firmly seated in his position was that with the order of Jesuits. The Jesuits were regarded by him as a dangerous independent aristocracy, and as the guardians of the secrets of the confessional of almost all the princes and nobles of Europe, far beyond the reach of any secular arm. In Portugal, in particular, the order, by the possession and use of great wealth acquired by trade, and of a flourishing colony, threatened the complete oppression of the state, which was entirely in its power. Shortly before Pombal became minister the order of the Jesuits had obtained a temporal dominion in Paraguay in America, secured for themselves all the privileges of government and legislation, and threatened to draw the whole trade of private individuals to themselves by various speculations and large commercial adventures in the Antilles and the European ports. The order was in ill-repute for its casuistry, by virtue of which regicide and bankruptcy might be equally justified, as Arnauld and Pascal had proved in the preceding century. The danger of allowing such an order first to sustain speculators by its credit and then to allow them to fail, had been so clearly proved in Pombal's time in the superior courts in France, that the parliament at that time zealously pressed for the abolition of the order. The pope himself had issued very severe orders in 1741 against the practices of slave-dealing, usury, and banking, in which the order had engaged. In February, 1741, Benedict XIV published a bull, by which, without naming the Jesuits in particular, all orders whatsoever and all ecclesiastics were strictly forbidden to engage in any description of trade or commerce, to exercise any temporal authority, or to interfere with the sale or purchase of the converts. This bull failed in producing its intended effect,

and in December another was issued expressly against the Jesuits. The latter, entitled *Immensa pastorum*, which is remarkable as being the first manifesto published by the pope against the order of Jesuits, was particularly directed against their conduct in their missions in Asia and Africa, in Brazil and Paraguay.

The bold spirit of usurpation which the Jesuits continued to display, notwithstanding the pope's first bull, after having caused the *Immensa pastorum* to be launched against them, urged Pombal also to the adoption of his first strong measures against this dangerous order. In their missions in Paraguay, both in the portions which acknowledged Portugal as their sovereign state as well as those which acknowledged the supremacy of Spain, they had contrived to obtain complete possession of the secular administration, by having secured for themselves the most extraordinary privileges from the kings and queens of these nations, who were entirely subject to their guidance and dominion. No Spaniard or Portuguese was suffered to set foot in their missions without their special permission. The pope in his bull, under threats of the greater excommunication, forbade all and each, and the Jesuits expressly by name, to make slaves of the Indians, to sell, exchange, or make presents of them, to separate them from their wives and children, to despoil them of their property, or to injure or molest them in any other way whatsoever.

Later, Spain ceded the district of Puy in Galicia and the seven missions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and obtained in return Colonia del Sacramento. This exchange led to disputes with the Jesuits, and finally even gave rise to military expeditions on the part of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the Indians: the Indians themselves were highly dissatisfied with the cession of Paraguay to Portugal. The active resistance of the Indians led the Spaniards and Portuguese to meet force by force, and a formal contest arose, which led to no very conclusive or satisfactory results as long as the matter was wholly left to the three thousand Spaniards and the thousand Portuguese who had been sent to aid and carry into effect the objects of the commissioners; in the year 1753 Pombal adopted different measures. He sent a considerable army into the district, gave the command of it to his brother, Francisco Xavier Mendoza, conferred upon him the office of governor of the province, and intrusted him secretly with full power to destroy and forever put an end to the secular dominion of the Jesuits in this territory. The last part of the commission was kept a profound secret, and Pombal also delayed its execution till the death of the dowager queen of Portugal, who was a blindly devoted adherent to the order. These severe measures against the Jesuits were first carried fully into operation in the year 1755, in which the capital of Portugal was visited and almost destroyed by one of the most dreadful earthquakes which has ever occurred in Europe.<sup>h</sup>

#### *The Earthquake at Lisbon (November 1st, 1755)*

Denis<sup>g</sup> quotes a letter from Pedegache, who was an eye-witness of the horror: "On the 1st of November, 1755, with a quiet atmosphere and a very clear sky, the earth shook, but so slightly that everyone fancied the vibration was due to some rapidly moving vehicle. This first trembling lasted two minutes; after two minutes' interval there was a repetition of the trembling, but so violent a one that the greater number of the houses began to crack and to fall down: this second trembling continued for upwards of ten minutes. By that time the dust was so great as to obscure the sun. Then came

[1755 A.D.]

a shock so awful that the houses which were still standing fell with a deafening crash. It seemed as if the earth were returning to chaos. The tears and cries of the living, the sighs and groans of the dying, the shuddering of the earth, the total darkness, all added to the horror of the scene. But at last, after twenty minutes, all became quiet. One thought then filled every mind—flight, and a refuge in the country. But our cup of misery was not yet full. Scarcely had we begun to breathe again when fire broke out in different parts of the town.<sup>1</sup> The wind, which was very boisterous, fanned the flames and left no room for hope.

“Possibly something might have been done to check the fire had not the town been threatened with wide submergence by the sea; at all events the terrified inhabitants easily persuaded themselves that this danger was in store for them, seeing waves breaking furiously over places far removed from the shore. Several people believing that they would find a certain amount of safety on the water ventured on it; but the waves drove the vessels on shore, grinding them one against another, then drawing them seawards with merciless violence as though they would swallow them and the miserable beings clinging to them.

“During all these days our terror has never abated, for the shocks are incessant. On Friday, November 7th, at five o’clock in the morning, there was a shock so violent we imagined our troubles were about to recommence; but happily it was followed by no disastrous consequences. The movement was regular, like that of a rolling vessel. What caused such devastation on the first day was that all the movements were contrary and so exactly opposed to each other that the walls parted with the utmost facility. I have noticed that the strongest shocks are always at daybreak. They say that the sea came up nine feet higher than the highest tide ever remembered in Portugal. On Sunday morning, November 2nd, I saw with the utmost amazement the Tagus, which in some reaches is more than two leagues wide, almost dried up on the city side; the other side was a feeble little stream through which one could see the bed. Almost the whole of Portugal has felt this scourge; the kingdom of Algarve, Santarem, Setubal, Oporto, Mafra, Obidos, Castanheira—indeed all the towns within twenty leagues are destroyed. I write to you from the depths of the country, for there is not a habitable house left. Lisbon has vanished!”

Everyone, from the monarch down to the meanest beggar, had something to deplore. In the town of Lisbon alone thirty thousand persons had perished, and, if one can trust the calculations which were made later, the losses in valuable furniture and in hard cash reached the enormous total of £91,360,000 sterling. In short, such were the results of this terrible catastrophe that more than twenty years after Dumouriez<sup>k</sup> was still able to say: “Lisbon is an appalling agglomeration of overturned palaces, burned churches, of rubbish such as one sees when a fortification has been blown up. In many places one walks over the sites of houses, in streets contrived on the rubbish thrown up on either side to allow of roadway being made. Here and there one sees reared up isolated houses, and ruins as grotesque, as grimly beautiful, as the remains of Greek and Roman buildings.”<sup>g</sup>

[This was blamed to incendiaries, though it was inevitable that in such a falling of walls many houses should be set on fire without human aid, though humankind were ready enough to seize the chance for loot. A large part of the people fled to the quays to escape the falling buildings, but there a great tidal wave found them and sweeping the wharves clean drowned men, women, and children in thousands. Voltaire’s *Candide* includes a notable account of the catastrophe. Estimates of the loss run from fifteen thousand to one hundred thousand lives; thirty thousand being the most generally accepted.]

the population of Lisbon continued throughout the winter in tents in the fields. The distress was extreme in every part of Portugal, and, as has been already stated, the pity of all neighbouring nations, Ferdinand deeply sympathised in his queen's sorrow for the women, and repealed the existing prohibitions of exporting some necessaries of life, and the heavy duties imposed upon the export of commodities related to Portugal. In England, though the claim might be less, one. George II applied to parliament for the means of relieving the severely afflicted; and the sum of £100,000 sterling was granted for that purpose. The ministers expended it in corn and in provisions or indispensable necessities, which were shipped off at once, notwithstanding the delay to the desolated city. The Portuguese felt gratitude for the benefits conferred and for the kindly fellow-feeling that actuated the act; and the old ties of friendship between England and Portugal seem to have regained much of their previously decaying

#### *Pombal and the Jesuits*

measures which Pombal adopted on account of and after the earthquake, though in themselves prudent and humane, were enforced in an arbitrary manner. He caused the public granaries to be thrown open, and hundreds of persons who had not been buried under the ruins, by the falling buildings, were wandering about like ghosts and suffering from hunger. He adopted measures for the immediate import of grain and other necessaries, abolished the duties on corn, and strictly forbade the export of any description. The water-conduits which had been destroyed were immediately restored and carefully maintained.<sup>1</sup> The indescribable misery which resulted from this calamity gave occasion to murders and such a country as Portugal. Pombal applied remedies for this without by the use of most horrible means. Thieves and robbers, one of the most imminent dangers, and urged by their covetousness, ran into streets which were masses of ruins, and carried away property from the palaces, and private houses before the very eyes of the inhabitants, who were trembling for their lives. To put an end to this fearful plunder, the minister ordered guards to be placed at all the outlets of the city and in every street, and summary justice to be executed on one who either refused or was unable to give a satisfactory account of what he was carrying. Hundreds of gallows were erected around the city which was filled with the dead and the dying, and with the robbed of all their property and means even of present existence; and on these gallows 350 people were hanged within three days. At every moment at which Pombal proved himself to be a deliverer, he was devoting his labours day and night to the public preservation and restoration of order, the clergy, and especially the Jesuits, endeavoured to bring him to the hatred of the people as an enemy of God. Sermons were preached against him from every pulpit, and a report was industriously circulated that the whole of their misfortunes, and even the earthquake itself, was a visitation of the divine wrath on account of Pombal's attacks upon the clergy. The Jesuits alleged that Pombal had roused the people in Oporto to involve them in its consequences.

When the king in despair asked Pombal what was to be done, he replied, "Bury the dead and the living"; he is said to have spent eight days and nights in his carriage from place to place.]

At Pombal's instigation, king Jose now signed the same decree, by which all Jesuits were banished from the court, which the monarch refused to be executed after his own failure. On the night between the 19th and 20th of September, 1757, Pombal caused all the Jesuits at present in Belem, at some distance from the capital, to be removed to a convent near Lisbon, and their places at court were immediately supplied by other ecclesiastics. This step against the court confessor was immediately followed by others against the whole order and its constitution.

In order to justify the steps taken against the Jesuits, and to convince the monarchs in Europe to regard them as devoted enemies of the temporal power of princes, Pombal had recourse to a remarkable piece of writing, which excited great attention throughout the whole of Europe. It was a public manifesto against the order, which was eagerly read at all courts, produced a great effect in Austria, and enabled Kaunitz to prevail upon Maria Theresa to adopt many measures to which she never would have consented without Pombal's publication.

Both these criminatory reports were sent to the Pontifical court at Rome (October, 1757), and he was instructed to seek and secure the sanction of Benedict XIV, who was then mortally ill, a complete recovery of which, however, and as early as February, 1758, a new and urgent note on the same subject was presented to the papal court. The pope yielded to the solicitations, and issued a brief in April, by which the patriarch, Cardinal Valdez, was appointed to examine and reform the abuses of the order in the kingdom of Portugal.<sup>4</sup>

#### *A Plot to Assassinate the King*

Whilst the Jesuits and their adherents were hatching their schemes against the visitor, a plot to murder the king was contrived at Lisbon, involving two of the noblest families in the realm, the dukes of Aveiro and Braganza. The case, were enveloped in obscurity, and even at this day the opinions of the Jesuits, whether guilty or not, in the criminal design.

The duke of Aveiro, the chief conspirator, was descended from a noble family of João IV, was descended from Dom Joao, third monarch of Portugal, to whom his father had endeavored to substitute the duke's grandfather, and was a successor; and a daughter of the duke was married to the king's son, the confederates, the marquises and marchionesses of Tavora. The duke, who was that the king, whose gallantries were notorious, was accused of having been living with the young marchioness of Tavora, and that that lady, by her conduct, had cast such a stain upon their honour; it has been also charged upon the duke, as a marchioness, a woman of imperious temper and insatiable ambition, who was persecuted at having been refused a duke's son for her husband, and it was alleged at the time that these Tavora families were the principal instruments of their Jesuit confessor, who sought by the king's death to prevent proceedings against their order.

What can be stated with certainty, is that a young lady, a daughter of the Tavora family, who resided with the duke and duchess, was pierced with wounds and wrapped in a sheet, as one of the victims of Tavora, that no judicial inquiry into the circumstances of her death took place, a mode of connivance not uncommon when princes and princesses are the powerful families; that soon afterwards, as the king was returning to his palace at night, from the residence of some of his ministers, he was seized by

[1 Lord Mahon says: "His majesty had detached besides the marchioness of Tavora both the wife and the daughter of the duke of Aveiro."]

[1758-1759 A.D.]

Tavora], several shots were fired at the back of his carriage, one of which wounded him; and that the coachman, instead of going forwards to the palace, instantly turned his horses' heads, and drove to the house of the king's surgeon. It is believed that by this step he saved his master's life, as he thus avoided two or three other parties of assassins who were lying in wait on the road to the palace.

Some weeks elapsed ere the perpetrators of this outrage were detected, during which time Aveiro and Tavora were assiduous in their visits to the royal invalid. But in the end Pombal obtained a clew to the plot. A great number of persons were seized and imprisoned; and in January, 1759, as it is alleged, after a very arbitrary and unsatisfactory trial, the duke, the marquis, his two sons, and several other persons were broken on the wheel; the old marchioness, in consideration of her sex, was beheaded, and the young marchioness was shut up for life in a convent. Many persons were banished, and others imprisoned for life.

One of the conspirators is said, whilst under the torture, to have accused three Jesuits as the instigators of the conspiracy, but to have retracted this accusation upon the scaffold. Of these three Jesuits, one was tried for heresy, not treason, convicted, and executed; the other two were not even brought to trial; but Pombal took the opportunity to charge the crime upon the whole order, as the fruit of its principles and doctrines—an imputation to which their earlier conduct rendered the order but too obnoxious. He issued orders for the confiscation of their property, and the seizure of their persons, throughout Portugal and the colonies, as advisers and instigators of regicide, and for the investigation of their doctrines. In the month of September of this same year they were finally proscribed and banished.

#### *The Exile of the Jesuits*

The missionary fathers were torn from the reductions, and with all Jesuits who could be found in Brazil, old and young, even the patients in their infirmaries, were stowed on board ship, without any of the conveniences, or scarcely any of the necessities of life, like the unfortunate negroes in slave vessels, and transported to Europe. Upon reaching the mouth of the Tagus, some were landed and thrown into the Lisbon prisons, where they languished during the remainder of José's reign; others were sent forward to Italy, where they were landed upon the papal territories, and left to find their way to the houses of their order. It is said, however, that an allowance was made from Lisbon for their support, and that Pombal often complained of the extraordinary longevity of his Jesuit pensioners.<sup>1</sup>

Pombal, who really appears to have been partly actuated by disgust at the slavery, however easy, in which the fathers had held their converts, and to have desired to place the Indians upon a level with their Portuguese masters, now endeavoured at once to effect this equalisation.<sup>2</sup> The scheme, if not extravagant, was at least premature.

In Portugal likewise, Pombal, though he succeeded better, attempted too much; and by his injudicious endeavours to secure to the Portuguese the profit made by foreign, and especially English merchants, he merely harassed

[<sup>1</sup> See also the history of Spain for the account of the expulsion that resulted from Pombal's initiation.]

[<sup>2</sup> By this celebrated decree of May 25th, 1773, grandsons of slaves in Portugal and all children born after that day were declared free, and all civil restrictions on the "New Christians" or the converted Jews and Moors were forever removed.]





[1750-1777 A.D.]

Upon the restoration of peace, José and Pombal resumed their patriotic labours for improving the internal condition of Portugal. With the assistance of Schaumburg-Lippe they remodelled, increased, and disciplined the army. They similarly reformed the state of the navy. They established a more efficient police, and abolished the *Indices Expurgatorios*, or prohibitory lists of books of the Inquisition, which banished from Portugal many good and really philosophical works. They did not indeed give liberty to the press, but established a board of censure, combining royal with prelatial and inquisitorial judges, by which all publications were to be examined. The verdicts of this board, if still somewhat illiberal, were far less so than the bigoted decisions of the uncontrolled Inquisition. Nay, it is even said to have admitted some free-thinking works, and condemned many books written in support of the more extravagant pretensions of the papal see. To this board, moreover, all schools were subjected. Pombal introduced great ameliorations into the constitution and forms of the University of Coimbra, where, till then, degrees in law, medicine, and divinity had been granted, without any real examination of the proficiency of the candidates.

Pombal likewise somewhat limited the right of entailing property, carried throughout the peninsula to a ruinous extent, diminished the excessive number of monasteries, imposed restrictions upon the admission of novices, and endeavoured to abolish the odious distinctions between the "old" and "new" Christians, by repealing the tax laid especially upon the latter. On the other hand, Pombal sought to encourage agriculture by ordering all vineyards to be destroyed that were planted upon good arable land; he cramped commerce by injudicious attempts to encourage domestic manufactures, by establishing exclusive commercial companies, by passing sumptuary laws, and by various embarrassing regulations.<sup>b</sup>

#### *Schlosser's Estimate of Pombal*

One of the very first acts of his administration was to abolish the yearly exhibition of burning men for heresy (*auto-da-fé*); limits were set to the power of the Inquisition in general, and the infliction of all punishments, or cases involving punishments, were referred to the decisions of the secular tribunals. The conventual and religious houses were strictly forbidden to bring, or cause to be brought, young women of good fortune from the Brazils and to receive them into their convents, with a view of enriching their several orders. Restrictions were soon placed upon the nobility also, as had been previously done upon the clergy. Pombal behaved towards the high nobles precisely as Charles XI of Sweden had done towards the same class in his kingdom, with this exception — that the latter rested the defence of his conduct upon the declaration of the estates of the realm. In the Portuguese possessions on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, whole districts, lordships, and large estates which at first belonged to the crown had come into the hands of private families, as was also the case in Sweden in the seventeenth century; all these alienations were reclaimed, and all the estates which had come either by gift or occupancy into the hands of private individuals were resumed by the crown, and the families who were thus arbitrarily and violently deprived of their properties received very inadequate compensation.

By this resumption of crown lands which had been long in the possession of the nobility, the members of this body lost much of their influence and power, and the measures must be allowed to have been executed with great rigour. Imprisonment and death were arbitrarily inflicted upon all those who showed

themselves discontented with the scientific and philosophic system of government of the prime minister. The first years of Pombal's administration may be very fitly compared to the times of terror during the French Revolution; for the whole of the dreadful and subterraneous prisons, and all the towers and castles were filled with prisoners of state.

Should it be asked how it was possible that the cowardly, superstitious, and weak king could approve of such a revolutionary method of proceeding, this will be best explained by calling to mind that, from the time of the disputes with the Jesuits, he lived in a continual state of fear, not only of the order, but of his nobility and of his brother Don Pedro. He had therefore completely thrown himself into the arms of his minister, who surrounded the king and himself with guards, relying upon whose protection the weak king rejoiced that by the instrumentality of his minister he was able to exercise a dominion uncontrolled by the people or the nobles, such as was enjoyed by Louis XIV or Frederick of Prussia.

Pombal's measures with respect to trade, commerce, industry, and agriculture were neither the best nor free from selfish views; but they roused up the Portuguese and awakened them from the slumber and idleness of their monkish life, although this rousing was frequently not performed with a very gentle hand. We shall therefore attribute no higher importance to the school of commerce established by Pombal, to the solemn and public examinations which were held in his presence, and to the public attention which he thereby roused, than that he opposed a school of practical life to the prevailing monkish institutions, and a secular celebration which bore upon education and life to ecclesiastical processions. He also contributed very largely to the improvement of agriculture in the province of Alentejo, although we should feel by no means disposed to undertake the defence of all the measures which he adopted with this view; the same may be said of the great canal of Oeyras and of the fair established in the same place. He provided for the security of the city repeatedly destroyed by earthquakes; he provided an abundant supply of water by means of magnificent conduits, and erected numerous noble public edifices. But the means, however useful, were not the less tyrannical and cruel. The unfortunate inhabitants whose dwellings had escaped the terrific power of the earthquake were obliged to pull down their houses and build them up again at their own cost, according to a prescribed plan and on a given scale, if, either in their external appearance or by their situation, they interfered with Pombal's magnificent plan of broad streets and beautiful houses. Travellers were struck with admiration at his immense architectural structures, the arsenal, the exchange which was connected with it, and the market house, and it was said there was nothing in Europe of their kind to be compared with these buildings; but, in fact, the only real glory in the matter was that Pombal's buildings were all erected in the taste and style of the new age, whereas those of John V retained all the characteristics of the Middle Ages; for the exchange and the market house were wholly destitute of merchants and wares, and there was no suitable army or fleet to correspond to the arsenal.

Pombal was at that time the object of the most deadly hatred as a tyrant in the nation which he was desirous of reforming; this alone was sufficient to render everything hateful which originated with him amongst a people whose condition he was indeed unable immediately to improve, but whom he annoyed, provoked, and tormented by means of his state police and his numerous and detested decrees. He durst not, in consequence, venture out of his house without a guard, and was obliged to have recourse to the most hateful

[1777 A.D.]

ans of maintaining the respect due to his station and rank. Wraxall,<sup>2</sup> by his regards hearsays, mixes together truth and falsehood, stories, footmen's reports, and lies of all kinds, but who is deserving of credit when he takes as an eye-witness, informs us that, as late as the year 1772, he found the prisons full of unfortunate individuals, some of whom had been buried these living graves for fifteen years.

The advantages therefore which Portugal gained through Pombal's administration, and which were loudly celebrated through the whole of Europe, stood upon a very unstable foundation. The most remarkable of these advantages were: security from assassination, which Lisbon had never enjoyed before the time of Pombal's rule; the rebuilding and adornment of the capital; cleanliness of the streets; a free trade in books; an academy which deserved well of the friends of the sciences; a disciplined army, etc. All these momentous changes and creations, however, wholly depended for their continuance upon the absolute power of the minister, and that again upon the life of the king. As long as José lived, Pombal maintained his influence, and pursued the same energetic course both towards priests and officers. He put limits to the number of brotherhoods and ecclesiastical orders, and availed himself of the aid of his sister, who was herself a nun, to carry his reforming principles even into the nunneries. Military affairs he conducted in the same manner, for he never hesitated to cashier whole regiments if they transgressed his army regulations respecting discipline, or suffered themselves to be guilty of acts of injury or violence towards their officers, who were gathered from all nations and countries.

The king, who was nearly eighty years old, no sooner became seriously ill than Pombal foresaw his fate, for the queen was appointed regent and he was kept far removed from the sick-bed of the monarch. He therefore, shortly before José's death, which took place in February, 1777, preferred a request to the regent to be relieved from his official duties, and appealed, as a reason for his request, to his advanced age and his bodily infirmities. In this remarkable document he gives a brief but comprehensive statement of the whole of the arrangements and condition of all the departments of the government at that time. No person who reads this paper can fail to be amazed with the ability which it displays and to admire its author, who had raised the financial condition of the country to a degree of prosperity which had not reached for centuries; he appended a paper to his petition for leave to retire from public life, in which a correct account is not only given of the diamonds in the royal cabinet, but in which it is stated that a sum of 1,000,000 cruzados in hard cash [about £6,400,000] was deposited in the royal treasury.

#### THE NEW QUEEN AND REACTION

The king however died before the regent had returned her answer; he was succeeded by his daughter, Donna Maria I, to whom Pombal preferred his request anew on the 1st of March, 1777, which was granted to him by a decree of the date of the 4th of the same month, drawn up in a kindly spirit. The regent, at the end of February, had already released from imprisonment several of the clergy and persons of distinction who had been incarcerated as being implicated in the conspiracy against the king's life, under the appearance of having taken this step by her husband's command: in the beginning of March everything was changed. The new and unholy marriage which

was celebrated in the royal family, for which the pope had granted a dispensation, may be regarded as a preliminary announcement of the return to the old order of things: this marriage, now condemned, had been commanded by the king immediately before his death. It appeared as if it were not enough that the reigning queen should be married to her own paternal uncle, but the son of this marriage must be further allied with his mother's sister, Donna Maria Benedicta.

The whole history of this incestuous family furnishes proofs enough that, although the pope might sanction and bless such marriages for money, they had the stamp of reprobation upon them. This was soon evident in the case of the new queen Donna Maria. Immediately after her father's death she assumed the reins of government, which she shared with her husband Dom Pedro; soon afterwards, however, she exhibited traces of insanity, and at a later period became completely mad. As her unsoundness of mind was closely connected with her excessive superstition, she did not wait for Pombal's removal from the presidency of the council, which took place a few weeks afterwards, but immediately proceeded to take steps for the restoration of all those religious abuses which had previously existed in the kingdom. She restored to the papal nuncio and the saints of the dead all the honours and distinctions which they had previously enjoyed among the people. The nuncio immediately played again the character of a spiritual monarch; and the pope received half a million of florins as an indemnification for the expense to which he had been put by the support of the Jesuits who were landed at Civita Vecchia. The estates of the rebellious patriarchate were given back; the holidays, confraternities, and tribunals of the Mobile Azeia restored, and those saints of the Romish church who had been the enemies of all temporal sovereigns were again reinstated in the honours of the church and the calendar. This was the case with Gregory VII, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Francis Borgia, whose names had been erased from the calendar by the orders of Pombal. All this took place long before Pombal received permission to retire from his official station.

Hundreds were liberated from their subterranean dungeons, among whom were bishops, grandees of the kingdom, and members of families of the first distinction, and especially the sixty Jesuits who had been restored to freedom upon the command of the queen; all these combined and allowed the weak-minded lady no rest or peace till she let loose her priests upon the reformer, with the forms and formulas of their Byzantine criminal law, of which its codes furnish abundance, for the torment of all those who are unfortunate enough to live in countries in which Byzantine justice is honoured. Some idea of the number and power of the minister's enemies at court may be deduced from the fact that he had hunted forth whole crowds of that court mob which, under all sorts of titles and pretences, had wasted or spent on themselves and their pleasures the revenues of the kingdom, or sacrificed them to his own creatures; and that again he had not only met the expenditure, but accumulated a large reserve fund in the treasury of a kingdom whose exchequer had always been previously empty. In the royal treasury he kept always on hand 40,000,000 crusados, and in the title exchequer 30,000,000, which was a thing long unheard of in the history of Portuguese finances.

Pombal shared the fate of all those who have ever attempted to carry through a revolution or even a reform by means of violence and severity; the cruelty, criminality, and violence of their measures rouse every human feeling against them to such an extent that neither sense nor gratitude

[1785 A.D.]

ains for the various beneficial changes which they have effected. The numbers of prisoners who were released from their dreadful captivity and dungeons at the king's death furnish but too strong proofs of the strict applicability of this principle to Pombal, and of the severities which he exercised under pretence at least of serving the interests of humanity, and promoting the cause of knowledge and improvement. In the very first days of the new government 500 human beings came forth from their cells as from their graves, who had never been brought before any legal tribunal, and their number was afterwards increased to 800. When it was determined to prosecute the marquis, it was alleged by his enemies that during his administration 9,640 men had been banished or incarcerated, of whom 3,970 had been completely innocent, and of the rest only 800 then remained alive. For four years (from 1777-1781) Pombal was prosecuted before the courts by individuals who brought actions against him for false imprisonment and damages, and a prosecution was not commenced against him, on account of his administration of the state, till he had been first baited and hunted down by the lawyers.

At length a severe final judgment was pronounced against the marquis, when in his eighty-second year. In August, 1781, the queen overruled the decision of the courts, and limited the punishment to a public disapproval of the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his office, and banishment from the court.

Almost every improvement or change which had been effected by Pombal had disappeared before his death, which took place in 1782. Priests and monks of all colours, Jesuits, now called ex-Jesuits, want of police, filth, insecurity for life and property, and a total relaxation of military discipline again appeared; but the whole effects of his exertions and labours could not be rooted out. Murphy,<sup>1</sup> who visited Portugal in 1789, found many changes in the old Portuguese life, and every change which he mentions is referred to Pombal. He further boasts that Portugal was indebted to this celebrated minister for an institution of which England was long destitute; in England hundreds of unfortunate debtors were continually to be found languishing in the public prisons at the suit of some heartless and intolerant creditor. In 1744 Pombal issued an ordinance, which since that time has continued to be the law in Portugal, by which, on the one hand, debtors were freed from personal arrest or imprisonment at the suit of their creditors,<sup>1</sup> and the means were given to the latter by which obtaining possession of the property of their debtors was rendered as easy as it had previously been difficult.<sup>2</sup>

The strict friendship subsisting between Spain and Portugal had been most beneficial to the former during the war with England (1779-1783). Not only had the Portuguese harbours afforded neither shelter nor assistance, as of old, to the hostile British fleets, but the Portuguese flag had been the means of transporting the wealth of America to Spain; and it is said that when the English ministry had projected an expedition against Peru, whilst distracted by Tupac Amaru's revolt, its execution was prevented by remonstrance from the court of Lisbon, representing that, in case of an invasion of the Spanish dominions, Portugal was bound by treaty to take part in the war. Charles, duly sensible of these advantages, sought to strengthen the ties of relationship and friendship by those of wedlock; and in 1785 his fourth son, Don Gabriel, married the infanta Marianna Victoria

[<sup>1</sup> The credit for fully ending imprisonment for debt is, however, usually given to the later ministers and the queen Maria.]



[1785-1799 A.D.]

of Portugal, and Dom João, the queen of Portugal's second son, the eldest Spanish infanta, Carlota Joaquina.

This last union was the more agreeable to Charles, inasmuch as Dom João had a very fair chance of eventually succeeding to the crown, the incestuous union of his eldest brother with his aunt having proved barren. But it was not the youngest of this ill-assorted pair that was destined to be the survivor. Three years after Dom João's marriage, the prince of Brazil himself, whom the bigoted prejudices of the queen had not suffered to be inoculated, died of the smallpox, and Charles' son-in-law became prince of Brazil in his stead. Queen Maria had, in 1786, lost her uncle-husband, Pedro III, but he had interfered little with her government, and his death had therefore no effect upon public affairs.

The queen appears to have been really anxious to promote the prosperity of her kingdom. When the Peace of Versailles had relieved her from the embarrassments consequent upon her intimate connection with two hostile belligerents, she endeavoured to strengthen the old friendship with England by concluding a commercial treaty, at the same time that she maintained her new relations of friendship and commerce with the Bourbon courts.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE REGENCY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The queen now began to show signs of an insanity which took a religious form and in which she suffered all the agonies of her vivid belief that she was doomed to eternal fire. Her confessors endeavoured to comfort her by milder applications of their doctrines, but from 1788 the government was more and more taken out of her incapable hands by Dom João, who was not, however, fully constituted regent until 1799.

Meanwhile the ferment of the French Revolution had stirred all Europe, and Portugal indirectly. We have already described the embroilment of Spain. Portugal endeavoured to keep a strict neutrality, but her treaties with Spain and England enabled them to enforce their demand for aid.<sup>1</sup> She added nine sail of the line to the British fleet, and five thousand infantry under General Skelater to the Spanish armies. These troops shared the easy successes of the first rush across the Pyrenees and the bitter disasters of the following repulse. Spain now, in 1795, signed a treaty of alliance with France, and Portugal applied for terms, but was rejected as "a mere province of England"; the ambassador at Paris was ordered out of the country, and on showing some delay was thrown into prison, where he remained for months.

Portugal was now driven to open alliance with England, against whom Spain declared war in 1796. At the same time Dom João learned that Napoleon and the Spanish prime minister Godoy had agreed to conquer and divide Portugal as a spoil of war. The English voted £200,000 sterling to Portugal and sent six thousand men under Major-General Sir Charles Stuart. These with a native army of some forty thousand men placed under the prince of Waldeck frightened off Spanish invasion, whereupon Stuart and the English troops withdrew. Little had happened thus far except the loss of some commerce to French privateers. In 1799 Dom João formally assumed the regency and tried vainly to secure the favour of Napoleon, who would listen

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Stephens,<sup>d</sup> however, represents Dom João as so zealous for the reduction of the French that he forced his aid upon England and Spain counter to the advice of the English ministry.

[1799-1807 A.D.]

to nothing less than the payment of a heavy tribute, breach of the alliance with England, the closing of Portuguese ports to English ships, the surrender of a portion of Portuguese territory to Spain. As alternative to these hard terms made under the name of Spain, war was offered. Dom João accepted the latter alternative, and proclaimed war on Spain, February 10th, 1801.

As related in the Spanish history, Portugal was invaded by the Spanish at once, and with such ease that, by June 6th, João was glad to accept the Peace of Badajoz at the cost of ceding Olivenza to Spain. Napoleon, however, required more, and sent troops which extorted a tribute of £1,000,000 sterling and the cession of Portuguese Guiana to France. Napoleon's representative at Lisbon was General Lannes (or Lasnes) who at first provoked great hatred by his insolent bearing, but later procured a large influence over João and secured the dismissal of the ministers of English sympathies. In 1804 he was succeeded by General Junot who accepted a treaty of neutrality which gave Portugal quiet for some years, while Napoleon went on from great to greater.

The English tried to break the Portuguese peace with France, but could succeed in nothing more than keeping her ports open in spite of Napoleon's continental system against English trade. By 1807, however, Napoleon was master enough of the East to turn again to Portugal and by the Treaty of Fontainebleau (October 29th, 1807), resumed his project of dividing it among Godoy, the king of Etruria, and himself. The terrified João offered every sacrifice for peace, going so far as to order from his realm every British subject and to close his ports to England, though this meant commercial ruin to Portugal. But Napoleon, pretending that the submission was too late, sent forward his troops under General Junot.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE INVASION OF THE FRENCH (1807 A.D.)

The Treaty of Fontainebleau contained all the decisions respecting the campaign against Portugal, and the partition of that kingdom. The Spaniards were to reinforce the army of the Gironde with twelve thousand men; at the same time to invade the north of Portugal with forty thousand men; and to give orders for another army to enter Algarve under Solano. In terms of the treaty, Lisbon and the whole centre of the country were to fall to the share of France, a part of the northern division was to be given as compensation to the queen of Etruria, and a sovereign territory to be formed in the south for Godoy. The part not allotted by the treaty to any of the three parties just mentioned was to be the subject of future negotiations, when possession of the whole was obtained.

Notwithstanding the imminent danger, the prince-regent had neither taken measures for defence, made preparations for setting sail to Brazil, nor even for the removal of the rich stores in the arsenals and magazines of the capital. The prince and his whole court would have been taken by surprise in Lisbon by the French rapidly advancing on the capital through Beira, had not a swift sailing ship brought a copy of the *Moniteur* to Lisbon, in which Napoleon, who supposed that his army was long since in that city, too hastily expressed his triumph by the declaration: "The house of Braganza has ceased to reign."

The army of the Gironde was under the command of Marshal Junot, who gained his ensign's commission by an act of great presence of mind

[1807-1814 A.D.]

policy in the use of this army. At the very moment in which he concluded a treaty with Spain against Portugal, and was using one part of the Spanish army under Bernadotte in Denmark, and was alluring the second to Portugal, he caused a body of troops to be assembled at Bayonne, but not to march against Portugal, as he had announced. It soon became obvious that Napoleon planned to take possession of Spain in the midst of peace.

The Spaniards who had assisted Junot in the conquest of Portugal having withdrawn into their own country, the French general had scattered his troops from Algarve and Oporto, and had done everything which could render the sojourn of the French in their country intolerable to the Portuguese. Napoleon immediately laid a contribution of 100,000,000 francs on Portugal; the people were obliged, besides, to pay 600,000 francs to Junot, which the emperor had assigned to him as governor-general; and Junot raised 5,000,000 more on his own account. Napoleon not only drew away the national troops from Portugal and took them into his own army, but appeared desirous of playing the same constitution-comedy with the Portuguese in Bayonne as he had played with the Spaniards. He sent for a number of the notables as deputies, but retained them in hostages; and they were afterwards placed in a very dangerous position, when, given up by him, they became suspected by their own countrymen. The only favour which he granted them was to remit forty of the hundred millions of contribution which he had at first imposed. In small matters, every officer in Portugal played the despot and oppressor.<sup>a</sup>

## THE PENINSULAR WAR

Portugal now became, like Spain, hardly more than the arena where English armies under the duke of Wellington fought a desperate and protracted war with the French under various leaders. The full details of this conflict, known as the Peninsular War, will be found in the history of Spain. For some years it was impossible to distinguish between the military interests of Spain and Portugal, their common safety resting on the destruction of Napoleon and the success of British courage and British plans. In these the Spaniards and Portuguese played small part, according to the British histories, except to harass French communications by their guerillas and harass British security by their intrigues and jealousies.

But there is something to be said for the natives. The French democratic principles had made some progress in Portugal, and the cowardly and stupid king who fled to a colony and left his country for a foreigner to defend was not of much inspiration. In fact patriotism found here little to cling to except the rocks and vines, and those would remain in any case, whoever ruled. Between the world-shaking Napoleon and the weak-minded, England-serving poltroon whom monarchic heredity had with its usual felicity placed on the throne, there was small choice to the Portuguese, and the historian should be sparing of his blame for the impassivity of the nation.

Furthermore the English commander Wellington was notoriously domineering; and the English troops, according to their own historian and their general himself, showed some of the most atrocious examples of drunken insubordination and bestial ferocity in the history of human war. Few of the Portuguese could be blind to the fact that England, in spite of her lofty tone, was really in Portugal for commercial and not for altruistic reasons, and that the war was purely a wrestling-match for commerce and power



[1807-1814 A.D.]

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(1807-1808)

between two giants, France and England, with little regard for the Gallicians they might trample in their struggle. It behooved the reader, then, not to follow the bias of either pro- or anti-Napoleonic historians in their common tone of contempt for the alleged pusillanimity of the Spanish and Portuguese.

The fact must be remembered that Spain and Portugal had nothing, or next to nothing definite to fight for, as "loyalty" in each country meant little more than a desire to shed blood and money for a monarch of third-rate virtue and first-rate indolence. It may be said, however, that the verdict of English historians is much more favourable to the Portuguese than to the Spanish. A brief outline of events will serve here for the history of Portugal, in view of the chapter already given in the history of Spain.

On the flight of the royal family to Brazil, a council of regents was appointed to carry on affairs. The disgust at João was so great that the French general Junot met almost no resistance, but rather welcomed as the bringer of freedom and democracy. The council of regents fled to him at Lisbon. His first acts were to seize the treasury and gold and the Portuguese treasury; on the other hand he forbade the Spaniards their expected plunder and he raised the Portuguese legions of troops who served with fidelity and bravery under Napoleon in other countries down to his defeat at Waterloo.

Having disarmed Portugal by easy measures and by a few Junot suddenly announced the end of the dynasty of Braganza, proclaimed French for Portuguese governors everywhere, and formed a new ministry and a new regency, largely French, with Junot at the head as president; eventually, he hoped, as king of Portugal. Spain had been similarly shaped and given a French king, Joseph Bonaparte. Spain responded by rebellion, Portugal, after nine months of submission to Junot, rose and butchered the French in large numbers. Revolutionary juntas took the government and appealed to England for aid, receiving in response both men and money as well as generals, chief among them the Irishman, Sir Arthur Wellesley, later, at Ulster known as the duke of Wellington. Portugal was in England's eyes, according to Canning's own words, merely the fulcrum for the lever of England to wrench Napoleon from his power.

After some hindrance, due to division of command, Wellesley was able to march forward; he defeated Laborde at Boina for Bonaparte August 17th, 1808, and four days later dealt Junot himself such a blow at Vimeiro that he surrendered all his strongholds and his troops on the condition that the English carry the army and its spoils safely back to France on their own ships. This so-called Convention of Cintra, concluded some miles from Cintra, was carried out, but provoked a storm of rage in England.

The French being thus transported, as by Merlin's carpet, out of Portugal, Dom João's regency was re-established and found abundant ground for dispute with the junta of Oporto, and later with the English officers and diplomats. England sent J. C. Villiers as ambassador, and Beresford to organize the native armies. He did his work with skill, and ten thousand Portuguese were taken into English pay. Hardly had Junot's army been evicted from Portugal when another French army under Soult came over from Spain, which was full of French troops. Soult drove back all resistance and took Oporto, whence Wellington expelled him May 12th, 1809. Wellington then entered Spain and beat "king" Joseph Bonaparte and his marshal Victor at Talavera.



[1808-1814 A.D.]

Meanwhile there were endless disputes with the regency, who seemed to divert the moneys England sent until the troops were hampered almost to helplessness, and the English generals were driven frantic. Sir Charles Stuart was finally at England's insistence added to the regency, and something less inefficient resulted. The people were, however, not altogether convinced of their duty to play "fulcrum" indefinitely to the Archimedean lever of England. They were not cheered by having to dig those famous and enormous lines of defence at Torres Vedras, and they were still less encouraged in being compelled to devastate their own country and retire with the English troops behind breastworks, before the terrible army Napoleon sent under Masséna in 1810.

But while Wellington kept under cover and guarded Lisbon doggedly, Portuguese militia under Antonio de Silveira and various English officers made it increasingly hard for Masséna to subsist his troops. Trant took Coimbra, and in 1811 Masséna was forced to retire or starve. Wellington was now reinforced, and following Masséna cautiously, bested him at Sabugal, April 3rd, 1811. But the year was one of great anxiety to Wellington. England could afford few supplies and the Portuguese regency was more prolific of complaints and quarrels than of provisions. But, though compelled to keep on the defensive, the Iron Duke showed a menace he hardly felt. The war hovered on the borders of Portugal and went generally to French advantage in Spain.

Wellington gradually, and by a patience as great as his skill in emergency, gained the upper hand, and forcing his way into Spain, took Madrid August 12th, 1812. He was later forced out by French adroitness and made a retreat, which, as described in the history of Spain, is infamous in British annals for the outrageous and inexcusable misbehaviour of the troops. Wellington berated his army in violent terms, and though he was not made the more popular thereby, his troops were somewhat sobered. He now received full power from the court in Brazil, and at the same time was made chief of the Spanish armies, with the whole peninsula under his command. He at once assumed the offensive with a vigour that answered the violent criticism his alleged timidity had provoked in England as well as in the peninsula and France. His victories, coinciding with Napoleon's disastrous Moscow campaign, drove the French out of the peninsula and led him into France, where the Peninsular War was ended with Napoleon's abdication.

## PORTUGAL AN ENGLISH PROVINCE

The gratitude Portugal was impelled to feel met a shock when the English at the Congress of Vienna refused to insist on the restoration by Spain of Olivenza, of which Portugal had been robbed by Napoleon and the Spanish in 1801. The bitterness was increased by the harshness of the regency, in which Beresford and Stuart still held sway, though the war was over. Beresford had his racial faculty of irritating the Latin peoples by his cold and severe manner and ruthless severities. He was commander-in-chief of the armies. A third of the officers were English, and two-thirds of the country's revenues were spent on the military. Portugal was in fact if not in theory only an English province. To the amazement of all, João, who had committed the novel feat of carrying his capital from the mother-country to a colony during a war, showed himself still more original when the war was finished; for he declined to bring back his capital. The life at Rio de

[1814-1825 A.D.]

Janeiro seems to have fascinated him. Portugal drew most of its wealth from the Brazils and he preferred and enjoyed it nearer the source. Worse yet, after taking to Rio some fifteen thousand persons when he fled, he kept persuading the chief nobles and wealthiest merchants to move to Brazil.

In 1816 he became the nominal, as he had long been the actual, king, for his insane mother died at Rio, March 20th of that year, and the regent was crowned in the colony as João VI and meekly acknowledged at home. But still he remained away, resigned Olivença easily, and called forty-five hundred war-tried Spanish soldiers over to Brazil, where under Le Cor they put down a rebellion, which broke out again in 1825 and succeeded as the republic of Uruguay.

João VI was unpopular with his beckoning people, and his own queen, Donna Carlota Joaquina, was undermining him in favour of Dom Miguel, her younger son, who was not believed to be also his. His admittedly legitimate and elder son, Pedro, was also against him and his absolutist principles. Thus while the queen had in 1805 promised Portugal a constitution, Dom Pedro was a lover of Brazil and a well-wisher to the schemes for its separation from the mother-country.

#### THE REVOLT AND RECALL OF THE KING

In this unusual tangle of politics the cry of "Portugal for the Portuguese!" began to grow. The only man who could be said to approach popularity was General Gomes Freire de Andrade, who had served under Napoleon throughout the wars, and whose deep hatred of the English had found new fuel, seeing his country and his fellow-soldiers so rigorously governed by the foreigner who had come with promises of freedom. He conspired with others for a rising, but his plans were exposed and he and ten comrades put to death by the regency. The martyrdom, as it seemed, of Freire and his men embittered the country, and it needed only the absence of Beresford (who took ship to Brazil to extract money for the army from the absentee king) to show the way.

August 4th, 1820, the city of Oporto revolted, appointed a provisional junta in the king's name, and demanded a session of the cortes. Freemasonry principles had been at work, and aided the ripening of the plans. Lisbon similarly rose and chose a junta, which combined with that of Oporto and convoked the cortes. While the cortes was adopting a constitution similar to Spain's, the English officers were expelled from the country. Beresford, returning, was forbidden to land and compelled to return to England. The new cortes was of democratic persuasion; it clean-swept the remnants of feudalism and put an end to the still-living Inquisition. The "Constitution of 1822" limited the powers of the king to a veto of measures furthered by the annual assembly, promised a free press, universal suffrage, and other decencies of civilisation.

As elsewhere the first sign of emancipation provoked the horror of the Holy Alliance, the ambassadors of Prussia, Austria, and Russia withdrew from the country polluted with such free ideas, and England demanded with a new urgency that João VI return to Lisbon. He came back July 3rd, 1821, but before he was permitted to land promised to accept the constitution, to which he took oath October 1st, 1822, thus outraging the sensibilities of the clergy, who abhorred any trend towards liberty. His queen and Dom Miguel refused to accept the constitution and were ordered out of the country; but

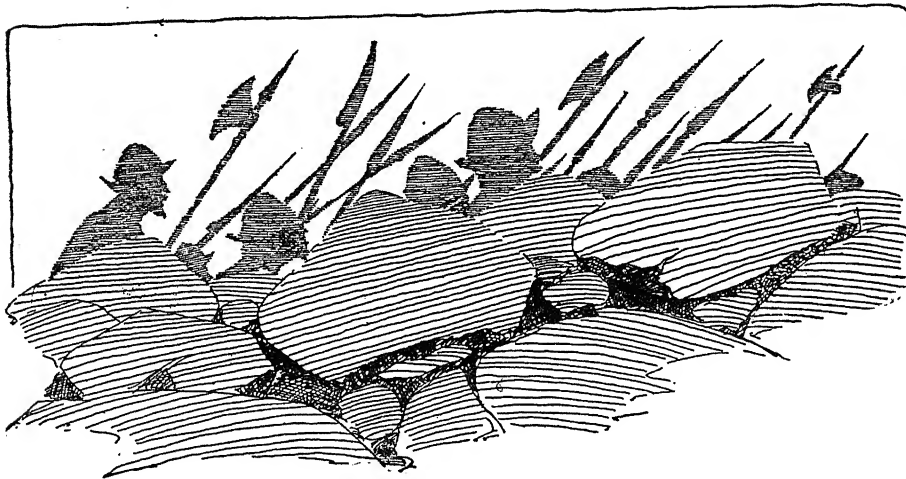
[1822-1823 A.D.]

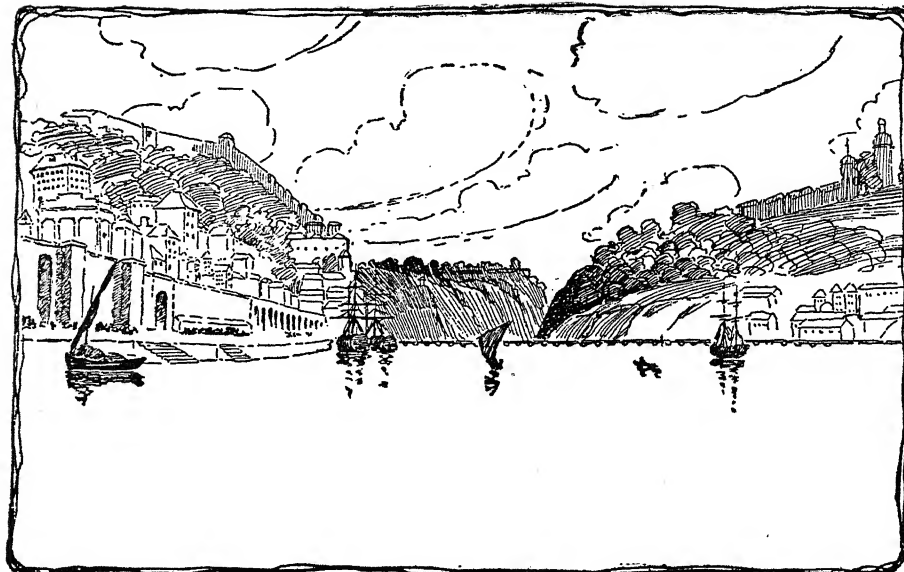
the queen, pretending to be ill, was allowed to remain, and busied herself drawing together conspirators known as "Cringers." In 1823 the French invaded Spain to quell the Spanish revolt against the Nero-like Ferdinand. The absolutists in Portugal chose the moment to rise against the Constitution of 1822, General Silveira being the leader.

## THE LOSS OF BRAZIL (1822 A.D.)

Meanwhile Dom Pedro, left behind in Brazil, had smiled upon those who desired independence of the mother-country which had long been but a blood-sucking vampire. By his complacency Dom Pedro won the privilege of leading the revolt against his own father and becoming the first emperor of Brazil with a liberal constitution back of him. Portugal made only the feeblest effort at resistance and Brazil was thenceforward independent. Its fuller history will be found in the later volume devoted to Spanish America.

The easy surrender of the richest of her colonies exasperated the absolutists still more against the pliant João, and Portugal proceeded to echo the almost incredible Spanish motto, "Hurrah for chains!"; to grow frantic for despotism; to curse those who tried to limit the power of oppression, and to exhibit the spectacle — no less astounding for being so common in history — of a people shedding its blood to destroy its own liberties.<sup>a</sup>





## CHAPTER V

### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

[1822-1900 A.D.]

IMMEDIATELY after the proclamation of the Constitution of 1822, the Austrian and Russian ambassadors had taken their departure and now that intervention in Spain had been definitely determined on by the Congress of Verona, one of the queen's adherents, the count of Amarante, raised the standard of revolt at Villa Real, on the northern bank of the Douro in the province of Tras-os-Montes, where the family of Silveira, to which he belonged, possessed estates. The rebellion was made in the name of absolutism or, as the phrase went, in the name of regeneration. The enterprise did not succeed, and the insurrectionists were driven across the Spanish border, though still hoping for the support of the French who had now arrived on the scene. This hope was delusive, for the duke of Angoulême and his government had to consider the susceptibilities of England. That power, already provoked by the treatment of Spanish concerns at the Congress of Verona, looked distrustfully at the development of events in the peninsula, and took a special interest in Portuguese matters; only the regency at Madrid gave them as much assistance as possible.

But there was no need for direct interference. The new Portuguese constitution had not effected what it had promised; long before this the fickle humour of this passionate, ignorant, and idle people had veered round. In particular the party opposed to the constitution had successfully worked upon the troops and the liberal cause had no one, no regular party, and only a few individual men in whom reliance could be placed. Thus in May, 1823, Dom Miguel was able openly to declare against the constitution. He withdrew from the capital, collected troops, and soon that same Sepulveda

[1823-1826 A.D.]

who had been one of the principal instigators of the revolution of 1820 marched to the prince's headquarters at Villafranca at the head of several thousands.

Thither on the 30th of May the king himself was conducted by mutinous troops, and thence on the 3rd of June issued a proclamation in which he declared the "infamous cortes" dissolved and the "pure monarchy" established. Two days later he returned, an absolute monarch, to the capital he had left as a constitutional ruler. Of the members of the dismissed cortes a number had escaped to England, though the king himself nourished no thoughts of vengeance. The adherents and promoters of the counter-revolution were rewarded: Count Amarante, for instance, was made marquis of Chaves; the cloisters were restored and their property was given back, a new ministry was formed under Count Palmella and a junta appointed to indicate those dispositions of the cortes which were incompatible with the monarchical principle. For a time Dom Miguel, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army, was praised throughout Europe as the hero of the reaction.

On the 18th of June Queen Carlota also returned to Lisbon. This infamous woman detested her husband, who on his part had good reason to dread her fury which stopped at nothing. She was now bent on raising to his place her son Miguel who promised to be a prince after her own heart. A system of monarchical terrorism according to the ideas of this worthy pair was impossible so long as the mild Dom João was reigning; the utmost that could be managed was a wretched assassination, like that of which the king's moderate counsellor, the marquis of Loulé, was the victim; the reins had therefore to be snatched from him by a *coup d'état*.

On the 30th of April, 1824, Dom Miguel caused the leaders of the moderate party to be arrested. The king's minister, at whom the blow was really aimed, found time to escape on an English man-of-war which lay at anchor in the Tagus. Thither on the 9th of May the king, who had little confidence in his unnatural son, also fled, being assisted by the English and French ambassadors. But this time the overstrained bow broke in the hands of the absolutist party. They had forgotten to reckon with one factor on which they were accustomed to count too securely. The common people of the capital regarded their sovereign with something like idolatry; and when, from his place of refuge, the king disclosed the criminal designs of those who should have stood closest to him, Miguel found himself suddenly forsaken by all and threatened by many, so that nothing was left him but to go himself to his father and implore his pardon. He was now for a time held in custody on the English vessel.

His "inexperienced youth" might be made a pretext for securing his pardon, for he was indeed, although a practised sinner, only twenty-two years old; but it was thought expedient to send him to travel abroad. He betook himself through France to Vienna, to prepare himself, under Metternich's eye, for a subsequent continuation of his rôle. His mother was banished to a cloister which suited her but ill; she resisted, under the pretence of illness, and is said to have even taken the last sacraments to prove her sickness. The question of the form of government was then so far settled that on the 4th of June, 1824, the king, acting on English advice, granted a constitution by which the cortes were re-established in their ancient form and divided into three estates—the cortes of Lamego, as they were called from their place of assembly. The country now remained undisturbed till the king's death, which took place on the 10th of May, 1826, and placed

[1826 A.D.]

the two thrones of Portugal and Brazil to a certain extent at the disposal of his eldest son Dom Pedro, who was conducting the government in Rio de Janeiro.

#### PORTUGAL RECEIVES A NEW RULER AND A NEW CONSTITUTION

But to hold them both had become an impossibility since the events of 1820, and a treaty effected through English mediation in 1825 had expressly provided that the two crowns should never again be united on one head, thus confirming the work of the Brazilian cortes of 1822 which declared the country's independence of Portugal. On the 23rd of April, 1826, the new ruler granted the Portuguese an extremely liberal constitution, the *Charta de ley* and renounced his European throne in favour of his daughter Maria da Gloria. He endeavoured to counteract the danger to which her claims might be exposed from his younger brother, Dom Miguel, by assigning the child, then only seven years old, as wife to the uncle who was seventeen years her senior and by making the validity of his own resignation depend on the condition that Miguel should swear to the *Charta* and accept the marriage; until this should be completed Pedro's own rights were reserved, and since owing to the difference of age between the couple the marriage could not take place for some time, he intrusted the government to his sister Isabella Maria as regent.

She proclaimed the new constitution, which was sufficiently liberal; in it the king retained only a certain power of intervention and arbitration, with no immediate influence on legislation; but liberality in the constitution was a very doubtful advantage in a country which was still so unripe for freedom, and an article which guaranteed freedom of religious worship roused the spiritual caste, who had no difficulty in representing to the ignorant country people and the numerous class of petty rural nobility whose interests were compromised by the new *Charta* that the new constitution was a work of the devil. However, a first attempt at a rising by the marquis of Chaves was suppressed, and in 1826 the regent was able to open the chambers.

But, supported by the apostolic party in Spain, Chaves returned. A formidable rebellion arose simultaneously in the north and south and gained such alarming proportions that the regent felt herself compelled to call in the aid of England. And this time not in vain. On Friday evening, December the 8th, 1826, the English government received the despatch. George Canning, the guiding spirit of that government, had long since declared that he would suffer no Spanish intervention of any sort in the country so long allied to England; on the 11th the regiments under General Clinton were on the march to their places of embarkation, and on the 12th the great minister made that great speech in the lower house which echoed throughout the world and lent to events in that remote corner of the continent, in themselves of little significance to the destinies of Europe, a far-reaching importance much above their immediate value.

Canning made use of the occasion to justify his whole policy — a peace policy, but one which must yield to treaty obligations entered into towards a country long allied with England; the contingency provided for by the treaty had now arisen and it would be a pitiful quibble to say that this was not a case of Spanish intervention because the troops which had risen against the legal government of Portugal were Portuguese: "They are Portuguese troops, but they are armed by Spain. We will not uphold by force or against



[1826-1827 A.D.]

the will of the country the constitution which Portugal has given herself, but neither will we permit others to overthrow it by force and against the will of the country." His words were meant to alarm and warn the Spanish government; but they also alarmed all those who had long been forcibly intermeddling with the internal politics of other states in behalf of principles opposed to liberty and friendly to absolutism.

Canning pursued his policy with moderation. He showed the strength of a giant without using it in a giant's fashion. On the 1st of January the English army corps under Clinton landed at Lisbon, and eleven English ships of the line cast anchor in the mouth of the Tagus. The news of their arrival sufficed to prevent the further spread of rebellion. The marquis of Chaves with ten thousand men stood ready for battle on the way to Coimbra. The constitutional troops, about seven thousand in number, marched against him; on the 9th of January a battle was fought which lasted till darkness fell. But in the night the news of the approach of the English spread amongst the Miguelites; this was enough to scatter their army. The English had no need to take action. Their mere presence facilitated the subjection of the rebels by the constitutional generals, Saldanha and others, and the Spanish government, which had understood Canning's speech, disarmed those who thronged across the border and delivered their weapons to the Portuguese authorities.

## DOM MIGUEL SEIZES THE POWER (1827 A.D.)

Thus far England had interfered in response to the queen-regent's request for aid. Meantime Dom Miguel had taken the oath to the constitution, and had been betrothed to his niece; on the 5th of July, 1827, Dom Pedro appointed him regent of the kingdom. On the 22nd of February, 1828, after having presented himself in London, where he insinuated himself with the ministry, now no longer guided by a Canning, he landed at Lisbon. At a solemn meeting of the estates he repeated his oath, appointed a moderate ministry and kept himself in the background. But it was observed that the eriers who daily shouted in front of the palace, "Long live the absolute king!" were no longer driven away or punished as they had been at first and that the constitutional officials and officers had been replaced by adherents of the opposite party; and after the withdrawal of the English troops, whose task was ended after the disbandment of the Spanish corps of observation on the frontiers, he threw off the mask.

On the 13th of March the chamber of deputies was dismissed, and a commission appointed to consider a new election law. On the 3rd of May the Governor summoned the three estates of the realm, the "cortes of Lamego," according to the ancient ordinances. It was now seen whither this true son of his mother was steering. In face of proceedings so manifestly in excess of the existing rights of the regent, the ambassadors of the powers provisionally laid down their offices, and the troops in Oporto rose in defence of the rights of their lawful ruler, Dom Pedro IV. There was no lack of recruits; the number of the constitutional troops increased to seven thousand, but there seems to have been a want of resolute leaders, some of them having taken their departure at Dom Miguel's first move. The last-named had meanwhile assembled his forces; the mob and the country people armed, and on the 24th of June the constitutional troops suffered a defeat at the hands of the Miguelites under Povoas, in the neighbourhood of Coimbra. They

[1826-1832 A.D.]

retreated to Oporto, where some of the leaders of the constitutionalists, the marquis of Palmella, and the generals Saldanha, Villafior, and Stubbs, who had now returned from their flight, in vain endeavoured to rally the disheartened army. Nothing was left to them but to escape from absolutist vengeance by a second flight; the remains of the constitutional army, four thousand strong, crossed into Spanish soil and Miguel's troops marched into Oporto.

The seizure of the throne could now be completed undisturbed. The new estates which had met at Lisbon, passed, each for itself, the resolution that, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, Dom Miguel had been called to the throne. On the 7th of July they paid their homage to the usurper as king. Thus the country was delivered over to the tyranny of a man who for baseness of disposition might compete even with a Ferdinand, and who actually surpassed the latter in coarseness and brutality. Incarcerations, judicial murders, deportations were the order of the day, and reached figures of frightful magnitude. It was a despotism which relied on the mob and the clergy for support; yet the fashion in which Dom Miguel had stolen the crown had been too openly in the very face of the principle of legitimacy to allow of his recognition by the powers; the Spanish ambassador alone remained in Lisbon.



DOM MIGUEL DE BRAGANZA

All Portugal submitted; only on the island of Terceira, one of the Azores, the governor Cabrera had upheld the rights of Dom Pedro and his daughter. Repeated attempts of the usurper to subdue the island were

frustrated. The leaders of the constitutional party collected there, and there in March, 1830, Dom Pedro established a regency composed of the marquis of Palmella, the lawyer Guerreiro, and General Villafior, who took possession of the whole group of islands in the name of the lawful government of Portugal.

By injuries to English and French subjects the barbarous reign of violence which prevailed under Dom Miguel soon added the enmity of those two powers to its native opponents. They exacted compensation and the humiliation of the usurper encouraged the party opposed to him which now found further and more energetic support. For in April, 1831, a revolt in Brazil had obliged the emperor Dom Pedro to resign his throne in favour of his son, Dom Pedro II, who was still a minor. In Europe a task lay ready to his hand: that of assisting his daughter Maria da Gloria to her throne, and at the same time freeing Portugal from her tyrant.

Countenanced by England and France, the duke of Braganza, as Dom Pedro now called himself, obtained a small land-force and a fleet, and with these he appeared at Terceira in March, 1832. With seventy-five hundred

[1832-1834 A.D.]

men he sailed thence to Portugal, landed in the neighbourhood of Oporto, and on the 8th of July obtained possession of this rich commercial city. But he did not succeed in rousing the country to enthusiasm in his cause. In the summer of 1833 his means were exhausted and only a bold decision availed to give a new turn to the undertaking, which, just in itself, had degenerated into a mere aimless adventure. By a loan raised in the city of Oporto he settled the demands of an English free-lance, named Sartorius, who was in his service, and replaced him by Captain Charles Napier. With the latter there embarked a corps of three thousand men under the duke of Terceira, General Villafior, to try their fortune in the southern province of Algarve. The result exceeded all expectation; the province went over to the cause of Dom Pedro and the queen, and as the ships were on their way back to Oporto, Napier attacked Dom Miguel's fleet off Cape St. Vincent and won a complete victory. Five ships of war with 280 cannon fell into his hands, and those on board, thirty-two hundred soldiers and sailors, entered Dom Pedro's service. The news encouraged the duke of Terceira to venture a march on Lisbon, and this bold action also succeeded. Queen Maria da Gloria was proclaimed in the city, and four days later Dom Pedro also entered the town and took over the regency in his daughter's name.

But the new government was by no means securely established. The regent understood little of Portuguese matters and, as always in these southern revolutions, the victorious party were strangers to the moderation required to restore tranquillity to the country. Dom Miguel had preserved the greater part of his army and its ranks were swelled by the peasants who were completely subjected to him and the priests, and by a numerous and continually multiplying rabble. This army maintained itself in the neighbourhood of Coimbra and on the upper Tagus; frequently it even penetrated to Lisbon and thus the two representatives of priest-ridden absolutism, Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, stood opposed to the two minor queens, whom chance had made the representatives of the principle of liberalism.

It was in Portugal that matters first came to an issue. To England, Portugal was the most important country as Spain was to France, and for both powers a real neutrality was an impossibility. A complete victory for Dom Miguel, signified to England — apart from the indignation which must be excited by that monster's system of rule — the complete loss of her influence in Portugal, and at the same time the destruction of the constitutional principle which naturally had the sympathies of the English nation and the Whigs who were then in power, and which was identified with the government of those classes of society whom a commercial people like the English must necessarily consider. And England had already long since broken through her neutrality.

In regard to the government of France, the position was similar: Louis Philippe was the natural ally of Queen Isabella, whose claims to the throne rested, like his own, on a violation of the principle of legitimacy. But the victory of the Portuguese pretender would of necessity lead to that of the Spanish claimant whose cause had equal chances in its favour, and moreover there could not be a better opportunity of opposing a liberal solidarity on the part of the western powers to the legitimatist solidarity of the eastern, and thus confirm the stability of the new throne of France. This community of interests brought about the conclusion of a quadruple alliance between Portugal and Spain, England and France (12th of April, 1834), by which the regents of Portugal and Spain agreed to expel the two pretenders, and for this object a Spanish corps was to co-operate with the Portuguese

[1835-1837 A.D.]

of these changes were always of a personal nature, and were to be found in the intrigues of the clubs which often crossed and clashed with those of other clubs.

Upon this state of affairs there broke the revolt of La Granja, which served as a signal for a similar movement in Portugal. For more than a year alarming symptoms had been showing themselves. The chamber of deputies had refused the chief command of the army to the queen's first husband, Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg. After four months of marriage he succumbed to a short illness.<sup>c</sup> In less than a year the queen remarried. Her second husband was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, nephew of the Belgian king. He obtained the chief command of the army, which made matters more difficult as he was unpopular.<sup>a</sup>

Then the queen ordered the dissolution of the cortes at the moment when all the Spanish juntas were in insurrection. The government was playing with the frivolity and light-mindedness of the people when, on the 9th of September, 1836, the newly elected deputies from Oporto arrived in Lisbon. They all belonged to the radical party. A band of musicians advanced to meet them, the city was illuminated, and enthusiastic cheers filled the streets and byways. By the end of the evening the ministers became alarmed at the demonstration and sent out a battalion to restore order. The soldiers fraternised with the people and all cried, "Down with the ministers; long live the Constitution of 1822." This excited mob, really more joyous than hostile, made its way to the palace and sent the surprised queen a deputation ordering her to dismiss the ministers and adhere to the constitution.

The queen refused to obey, and rejected the revolutionists' commands. A little later she resigned herself to the necessity, and she burst into tears. The count of Lumiares, Bernardo de Sá da Bandeira, and Passos were named ministers, and the queen promised to convoke the cortes according to the forms of the Constitution of 1822, in order that they might recast the fundamental law of the kingdom.

Passos planned out a pantheon, issued a thousand regulations relating to libraries and museums, and abolished bull-fights through motives of philanthropy. Bernardo de Sá destroyed all that he could, his principle being that things would arrange themselves afterward as well as they could and what was once overthrown would never be re-established.

November 3rd a few persons of the court tried to work a counter-revolution. The queen secretly betook herself to the castle of Belem, from which place she called the army and the people of the court around her and abjured the forced oath she had taken on the 10th of September. This scheme, bad and unpracticable in itself, presented one difficulty among many others which had not been seen by the prime movers of the plot. Belem is separated from Lisbon by a little river, and the constitutionalists in seizing the bridge of Alcantara cut off all communication between the castle and the partisans of the charter. The hostile attitude of his Britannic majesty's warships intimidated no one. The constitutionalists strengthened their love of the constitution with their hatred for England, and this time the people of Lisbon seemed led by a common sentiment. At the end of three days the queen renounced her dangerous project and returned to the city amid bonfires and the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.

This unlucky and abortive affair proved three things: the solidity of Donna Maria's throne, which was never for one moment shaken by this foolish experiment; the aversion of the people for the English yoke; and the hatred of the radicals towards a few political men. Freire was assassinated at

troops; the undertaking was to be supported by England with her warships and by France, if necessary, with troops.

The result was soon apparent. On the 12th of May Dom Miguel's army was defeated by the united Spanish and Portuguese army at Asseiceira and on the 26th the two allies, Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, surrounded by a superior force, capitulated at Evora in the province of Alemtejo. The former took a money payment, which he might squander anywhere but in Spain and Portugal, promised to respect his niece's rights and retired from the scenes, taking ship for Genoa. Don Carlos went to England.

Affairs quieted down in Portugal. Dom Pedro summoned the cortes and restored the Constitution of 1826; monastic and knightly orders and various abuses were abolished; the Jesuits had to leave the country; but the establishment of the new order of things was completed with moderation and without revenge, and above all the law was treated with respect. On the 18th of September in that year the estates declared the queen, though only fifteen, to be of age, since the state of the regent's health did not permit of his attending to business. On the 24th Dom Pedro died at the age of thirty-seven.<sup>b</sup>

#### MARIA II (1834-1853 A.D.)

Donna Maria was sixteen years old at her father's death. The cortes believed nevertheless that it ought to declare the majority of the queen, which she would not have attained according to the charter until her eighteenth year. Donna Maria hastened to put all her confidence in the duke of Palmella. Senhor de Palmella and his friends, while they brought great support to the government, did not make up for the strength of which it had been deprived by Dom Pedro's death, and did not disarm any adversary. The position of the entire Portuguese ministry with regard to England was truly intolerable; placed between an imperious national sentiment and unconquerable necessities it was at all times accused by the opposition of sacrificing the country's interests to those of an insatiable ally. The question of customs duties and the renewal of the treaties furnished the enemies of the ministry with national weapons, for nothing was so unpopular in Portugal as the lowering of the tariff and free trade.

In spite of the enormous expenditure due to civil war and the general ruin, the raising of loans contracted in London easily covered at first the deficit in the treasury. The abundance of money was such that they even foolishly employed specie to retire a paper currency in circulation since the time of João V. This false prosperity had no other result than to close all eyes to the dangers of the future. At the beginning of 1835 the minister of finance was compelled to admit an enormous deficit. The government was unable to borrow any longer nor even increase their taxes. It became necessary to have recourse to expedients and to set out on the deplorable road of anticipations.

Officials' salaries and officers' pay were no longer regularly paid, and the number of malcontents grew in proportion to the impossibility of satisfying them. The army and the national guard of Lisbon were entirely in the clutches of the secret societies. The internal dissensions among the ministers led several of them to associate themselves with clubs and to seek in the anarchist party a passing point of support against their colleagues; for, while all attacks were directed against Palmella, and especially Carvalho, there were in the space of one year eight changes of cabinet. The motives



[1835-1837 A.D.]

of these changes were always of a personal nature, and were to be found in the intrigues of the clubs which often crossed and clashed with those of other clubs.

Upon this state of affairs there broke the revolt of La Granja, which served as a signal for a similar movement in Portugal. For more than a year alarming symptoms had been showing themselves. The chamber of deputies had refused the chief command of the army to the queen's first husband, Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg. After four months of marriage he succumbed to a short illness.<sup>c</sup> In less than a year the queen remarried. Her second husband was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, nephew of the Belgian king. He obtained the chief command of the army, which made matters more difficult as he was unpopular.<sup>a</sup>

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[1837-1838 A.D.]

the bridge of Alcantara. On the 18th of January, 1837, after four months and a half of dictatorial power, exercised according to the statutes of the constitution by Bernardo de Sá and Passos, the constituent cortes met at Lisbon. According to the law of 1822 it formed a single chamber and was elected by almost universal suffrage. The 6th of May the cortes submitted the basis of the constitution and sixty-four votes against sixteen declared for absolute veto, the two chambers and the leading principles of all fundamental laws.

This was the opportunity for its enemies, and the baron de Leiria, who commanded in the north, raised the banner of insurrection on the 12th of July. Several garrisons, more important for the names of the towns than for the number of the soldiers, rose up to cries of "Long live the charter!" Marshal Saldanha proceeded to Castello Branco. The duke of Terceira soon joined him, and for a month the two insurgent marshals overran the country without opposition. The Lisbon government confided extraordinary powers to the viscount de Sá and the baron de Bomfim.

These two officers, with the constitutional forces, attacked the marshal's troops at Rio Mayor on the 28th of August, and, although on both sides they had had more than six weeks in which to make preparations, neither of the armies counted eight hundred men. But the soldiers were more prudent than their leaders. After a slight infantry skirmish in which the Portuguese nobility had sensible losses to deplore, the two marshals gave the order to charge to their little squadron and the viscount de Sá advanced at the head of his troops. The cavalry on both sides stopped at fifty paces, replaced their sabres in the scabbards, and having fraternised returned faithfully to the flags of their respective commanders. The latter saw themselves compelled to sign an armistice, and the marshals retired to the north to rejoin baron de Leiria who still held out in the suburbs of Valencia.

Forces were equal and victory depended on the side that would get hold of the corps which, having served in the army of Queen Christina, was returning to Portugal under the orders of the viscount das Antas. This general decided in favour of the constitutionals, and, after a bloody fight at Ruivães on the 20th of September, the remains of the chartist army was obliged to take refuge in Galicia.

But the evil which no constitution could remedy was growing day by day. On the 14th of October bankruptcy was declared — the necessity of paying the victors had drained the last drop of the state's finances. The body of workmen at the arsenal, who for two weeks had been giving unequivocal signs of discontent, openly rebelled on the 13th of March, 1838. Baron Bomfim surrounded the arsenal buildings by a line of troops and the rebels fired first upon the soldiers. This was truly a critical moment for Portugal. The cortes were opposed to any vigorous measures and clung to the side of the insurrection. But the fate of the ministers was nevertheless bound to the maintenance of order, and Bernardo took his stand boldly. He marched with Baron Bomfim against the rebels, who were completely defeated after a furious and bloody combat. After this time the arsenal party, as it was called, attempted fresh insurrections and more than once threatened the peace of the kingdom, but the events of the 13th of March had irrevocably fixed the government's position. Besides, when on the 4th of April the queen took an oath to the new constitution and proclaimed a general amnesty for the past, the chartists and the moderate portion of the constitutionalists found themselves naturally united against the more radical faction. Afterwards they were almost completely confused under the name of the "friends of order."<sup>b</sup> On the 16th of September, 1837, Queen Maria had

[1835-1842 A.D.]

given birth to a son. This greatly improved the queen's position, but the king-consort continued very unpopular, and the condition of affairs encouraged Dom Miguel to seek aid in London. But he sought in vain and returned to Rome. Discontent was still rife in Portugal, cabinets played see-saw, and in August, 1840, the 6th regiment of the line mutinied and shot its colonel.

Meanwhile England was pressing its claims for £375,475 [\$1,807,475] for commissariats in 1826 and for half-pay for the British officers who had served under Wellington and Beresford. The claim provoked only indignation in Portugal. In 1841 Spain came in for hostility.<sup>a</sup>

In 1835 the navigation of the Douro had caused considerable excitement between Spain and Portugal, which nearly led to a war between the two countries. There appeared in the *Gazette de Madrid* a violent article against Portugal, also an insulting one against Donna Maria II. Saldanha gave the Spanish government forty-eight hours to make reparation, notifying it that in the event of refusal a Portuguese fleet should fire the towns from Cadiz to Barcelona. Apology was made. Portugal had difficulties also with Denmark, when Saldanha requested the Portuguese minister to leave, if, after three days, satisfaction was not given. The Danish minister was recalled, but Saldanha obtained his wishes.

England complained that Portugal was too complaisant to France and the United States, and forgot her old ally, and declared she felt disposed to occupy the Portuguese Indian possessions on account of claims. Saldanha went to London with instructions to do as he pleased. Lord Palmerston told him to tell his government that England acceded to his desire to modify the convention, for his sake, and not for that of the Portuguese government.

Dom Miguel's party in Portugal, as well as the *absolutos* on the continent, considered he had now another chance of returning to his country. He left Rome for England, remaining some time, but he could make no move, and returned again to Italy. In December, 1841, the municipal elections commenced in Lisbon. There were now two great contending parties, the *moderados*, who supported the ministry, and the constitutionals, that of order; the pure Septembrists<sup>1</sup> were considered as revolutionists or even republicans, and there were most probably many Miguelites amongst them.<sup>d</sup>

## CABRAL AND THE CHARTISTS IN POWER (1842 A.D.)

In January, 1842, Portugal once more found herself face to face with the sad prospect of revolution, and the leader no less a person than the minister of justice, Costa Cabral, formerly one of the most ardent of Septembrists, now entirely converted to Dom Pedro's charter. Secretly seconded by the king and by Dietz and Drummond, who composed the occult government at Lisbon, he went to Oporto and thence to Coimbra, proclaiming the abolition of the established constitution.

The queen, who was not in the secret of the plot, in vain confided its repression to Palmella, Das Antas, and Bomfim. The duke of Terceira pronounced in favour of Costa Cabral; Palmella took no action and the revolution was brought to a head before anyone had seriously thought of suppressing it. Costa Cabral completed his triumph with the promise that the cortes would be immediately convoked for the revision of the charter,

[<sup>1</sup> Partisans of the liberal constitution of 1838.]

[1842-1847 A.D.]

and from that time it was he who reigned under the name of the duke of Terceira, president of the council. It goes without saying that Donna Maria was content to subscribe to everything she formerly had opposed. Most docile, subject to the wishes of her husband and her confessor, she had, moreover, never liked the constitution, and had herself twice attempted to destroy it in 1837.

Sustained by the high protection of the court, by the servility of the two chambers, by the friendship of his brother the governor of Lisbon, and finally by the friendly neutrality of the Miguelites, for whom the fall of the constitution would be nothing less than a triumph, Costa Cabral had nothing to restrain him. And he was not the man to hesitate before despotism. It was not sufficient that the tribune was almost silenced; he soon affirmed his power by the promulgation of three decrees which abolished almost the last of Portugal's liberties. The first concerned the judges, whose independence he destroyed; the second delivered the officers over to the absolutism of the minister; the third submitted all education to a censor and struck a death-blow at the universities. Is there need to add that the press was not less abused, and no longer had freedom but to praise?

It was not long before he went a little further. For a long time one of the greatest plagues of the Portuguese administration was that they could not exist without loans. They borrowed to meet even the ordinary expenses, they borrowed to pay interest on the debt; they borrowed for redemptions—all the while accumulating a more onerous burden. Costa Cabral finally had his eyes opened to this state of affairs, pointed it out to the queen, and while he himself was responsible for twenty-three loans in three years, he dared undertake to get rid of them, understanding well that irreparable ruin would be the result of the continuation of such a policy. But whether the taxation he established to reopen the true sources of prosperity to the finances of his country was really too heavy, or the strangeness of the thing made it seem so, Costa Cabral did not have the time to carry out and improve this great reform. He had presumed too much on his own strength and the intelligence of the people; no government was solid enough in Portugal to stand such a test.

#### THE SEPTEMBRISTS OVERTHROW COSTA CABRAL

But from the day that Costa Cabral himself set the example of insurrection, by rousing Oporto and Coimbra in the name of the charter, all his former friends became allied to punish him as soon as possible for his apostasy. Their leaders were Das Antas, Passos, Sá da Bandeira, Loulé, and especially Bomfim, who represented the mixed party.

When he had furnished them an opportunity by the introduction of a new tax which could not fail to arouse the anger of the peasants, they induced the whole province of Minho to revolt; and the majority of the other towns showing similar inclinations, Costa Cabral found it impossible to hold up his head to the storm.<sup>1</sup> Cabral fled to Spain with his brother the governor, under pretext of a year's leave of absence which the queen herself had granted him. During this time those whom he had formerly exiled and despoiled succeeded to his high power.

[<sup>1</sup> This insurrection was called the War of Maria da Fonte or "Patuleia" and was ended through foreign influence, by the Convention of Granada, June 29th, 1847.]

[1847-1850 A.D.]

But it was not for long. Costa Cabral had been in power at least four years. Scarcely had his adversaries entered into possession of the authority, when they had to contend with a new counter-revolution hatched in the queen's palace and soon supported by England, France, and Spain.

Donna Maria's victory was also Costa Cabral's, the latter in truth was only awaiting the signal to reappear in Portugal, and (astonishing thing, and one that shows well how superficial these agitations are!) he was cordially received there. It seemed as if everybody was his friend. Justice must be rendered Cabral in that, far from being intoxicated with a victory as complete as it was unexpected, he appeared only desirous of wiping it out—perhaps because he feared to raise again all the resentment under which he had once succumbed, perhaps because he preferred to hold back, or perhaps because, scorned plebeian that he was, he feared to offend the aristocratic pride of the great families by the immediate occupation of the highest office. He therefore refused the ministry and, content with an anonymous supremacy, transferred the honour to Pombal's grandson, the old marshal the duke of Saldanha, January, 1848.

This policy of Costa Cabral's showed itself still better at the moment when Marshal Saldanha refused to retain the post which was a source of trouble to him. Costa Cabral begged the duke of Terceira and Duarte-Leitao to accept the presidency of the council, and it was only upon their positive refusal that he decided to reassume it himself. If nobody wanted it, how could he be blamed for taking it? Still, he tried to disarm the anger that might be aroused at his accession by accepting a feudal title which undoubtedly he cared little about. But was it not better to defer solemnly to the unconquerable prejudices of the Portuguese aristocracy by concealing a plebeian name under the pompous title of the count of Thomar? However that might be, the new president of the council used his power energetically for the reformation of abuses, to complete the reconciliation of Portugal and Rome, to improve the state of the finances, to stimulate agriculture and commerce, and to restore the navy. Never, whatever might be said of it afterward, had Portugal been so prosperous since the glorious era when Pombal had undertaken to revive the glories of olden times. If this administration, rigorous but able, could have maintained itself for only ten years, Portugal would have lifted itself out of the abyss into which it was threatening to disappear.

But unfortunately this was not to be. All his old adversaries, disconcerted for a moment by the suddenness of his return, returned on their side to their intrigues and their alliances. The Miguelites irritated at his reforms, the great nobles offended at his supremacy, the Septembrists indignant at what they called his apostasy, the journalists embittered at the severities of his new law against the press (1850)—all these combined to overthrow him again. There remained to find a leader, and that did not take long. The marshal Saldanha was there, discontented and anxious to avenge himself at any cost.

Having voluntarily left the ministry, the duke of Saldanha proclaimed himself at first the friend and devoted adherent of the count of Thomar. He even went so far as to say one day that in politics he and the count were one and the same person. But constancy and fidelity were not distinguishing qualities of the noble duke, and this effervescence of friendship did not prevent his regretting the authority he had just given up of his own accord. As his claims were admitted neither by the count of Thomar nor his colleagues, he was thrown roughly into the ranks of the opposition and his

[1850-1855 A.D.]

first declaration of hostilities was a virulent attack upon the minister of war. Neither the chamber, the ministers, nor the queen paid much attention to this, and the latter even dared to reply that she did not allow her servants to give her advice, and especially written advice, unless she asked it. This was a cruel allusion to the post of first major-domo of the palace with which the duke was invested. Thereupon Saldanha's anger put him at the disposition of all those who were willing to second his revenge.

A not less seductive hope for Costa Cabral's enemies was England's declared assistance. Lord Palmerston was at that time at the head of foreign affairs, and no minister was ever more exclusively preoccupied with the interests of England. At the first news of the reforms which the Portuguese government had accomplished, or was meditating, he did not lose an instant in encouraging its enemies, in overwhelming it with threatening notes, in recommending a close friendship with the Septembrists to the representatives of Great Britain, and even in sending a fleet with provisions and money. If there were to be a Portuguese renaissance, what would in truth become of England's commercial supremacy over that country, and through that country over the whole peninsula?

Accusations of embezzlement, intrigue, and corruption were renewed against Thomar which served to disconcert his friends. April 8th, 1851, the duke of Saldanha succeeded in raising two battalions. It was from Oporto that the signal for the revolt came. It extended from there to Coimbra and then to Lisbon, when it found a leader even in the prime minister's brother, Sylva Cabral. Some personal resentment had ranged this unhappy personage with the bitterest adversaries and calumniators of the count of Thomar. Forced finally to hand in his resignation, he was exiled. The count of Thomar took his departure, with regret at leaving his reforms uncompleted, and without the wealth, of whose accumulation his enemies so persistently accused him. As for the queen, she tried vainly to soften the rough blow which royalty itself had received. Neither the conquerors of the count of Thomar, nor Lord Palmerston, nor Sir Henry Seymour, powerfully supported by an English fleet, would consent to spare her any of the bitterness of her defeat. They signified their wish that she should solemnly retract all the acts of the preceding ministry, that she should remove the king from the command of the army, restore Marshal Saldanha to his post of major-domo, and even accept him as prime minister in place of the marshal the duke of Terceira, whom she had been forced to substitute for the count of Thomar. What could she do against this triumphant power? Donna Maria agreed to everything, and a few days later Saldanha entered Lisbon amid flowers and cries of enthusiasm, which the fickle populace lavished upon every victory.<sup>e</sup> In 1852 the charter was revised to suit all parties; direct voting, one of the chief claims of the radicals, was allowed, and the era of civil war came to an end.<sup>f</sup>

When, under Saldanha's more vigorous rule, peace was beginning to settle over the land, the queen died on November 15th, 1853, at the age of thirty-five. Her husband Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg became regent for his minor son, who mounted the throne of Portugal on September 17th, 1855, as Dom Pedro V.<sup>1</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> "Dom Pedro V, although only sixteen, showed as soon as he ascended the throne a subtlety of spirit, a greatness of soul, and so precocious an intelligence that his people augured the most happy destiny for the country, and in its joy gave him the surname of 'El Esperanzo,' their hopes in him being so great. But a short time after (1861) the young prince in his turn also died, smitten in the flower of his age, in the midst of unfinished works." — SILVERCROFTS.]

[1853-1862 A.D.]

## PEDRO V (1855-1861 A.D.)

There was still that dream of uniting Spain to Portugal, but when the proposition was made to Pedro V, he replied: "They think to flatter my ambition and believe that I shall favour them; they are mistaken. Besides the reasons of propriety, policy, and honour which should restrain me, there are considerations which I must not forget—yes, I—if others do forget them. They do not reflect that if the house of Braganza mounts the throne of the peninsula, Portugal would be nothing but a Spanish province, and that our nationality would be absorbed. But I, who am the first of the Portuguese, the first citizen of a country which occupies an honourable place in the history of humanity—I should be a faithless vicar, if I favoured such a project. These people are even our great enemies, for they prevent many useful enactments which might be for the common good of the two peoples—for example, the development of international communication, progress in the material interests of the countries, and the unity of weights, measures, money, and customs regulations." *g*

The only political event of any importance during the reign of Dom Pedro V, who in 1857 married the princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern, was the affair of the *Charles et Georges*. This French ship was engaged in what was undoubtedly the slave-trade, though slightly disguised, off the coast of Africa, when it was seized by the authorities of Mozambique, and, in accordance with the laws and treaties against the slave-trade, its captain, Roussel, was condemned to two years' imprisonment. The emperor Napoleon III, glad to have a chance of posing before the French people, and counting on his close alliance with England, instantly sent a large fleet to the Tagus under Admiral Lavaud, and demanded compensation, which, as England showed no signs of assistance, Portugal was compelled to pay. The whole country, especially the city of Lisbon, was ravaged by cholera and yellow fever during this reign, itself evidence of the extreme neglect of all sanitary precautions; and on November 11th, 1861, the king, who refused to quit the pestilence-stricken capital, died of cholera, and was speedily followed to the grave by two of his brothers, Dom Ferdinand and Dom João. *f*

## THE REIGN OF LUIZ (1861-1889 A.D.)

The development of affairs in Portugal now took a decidedly liberal course. The Portuguese government had recognised the new Italian monarchy already in June, 1861, and the following year King Luiz had married Princess Maria Pia, the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel. On December 22nd, 1861, Dom Luiz took the oath to the constitution and, since the people were alarmed at the frequent number of deaths in the royal family, the government laid before the cortes a law controlling the regency and another which declared princesses also to be eligible for the throne and thus put still further off the danger that a descendant of Dom Miguel might succeed to the throne of Portugal.

Not a single Portuguese bishop appeared at the celebrated council at Rome in 1862 and, in a document dated July 3rd, the pope had occasion to complain that in the "lamentable state of the Catholic church in Portugal" the bishops were too lukewarm and tolerant; he reminded them that it was their duty to watch over the sheep intrusted to their care so that—in the language of the curial—"they should not be devoured by the ravenous



[1862-1868 A.D.]

beasts which make the surface of the earth unsafe to live upon." When some of the clergy took advantage of this to preach against the government, they were reminded by a proclamation of the minister of justice (August 2nd) that there were prisons in Portugal for such cases. The ministers were of liberal colour; in April, 1863, an important law was passed abolishing the right of primogeniture, an old evil of their country; in May, 1864, a decision of the second chamber demanded that the peers' title should no longer be hereditary.<sup>b</sup>

In spite of popular opposition the government entered resolutely on reform by abolishing capital punishment for any crime, civil or political. Following the example set by many European countries, they also adopted the metric system, organising consolidated funds and, what was a very important reform, abolishing the royal gifts of lands to support a title. In 1864, a treaty of delimitation which had been in progress for several years was definitely drawn up with Spain. New roads were marked out and furrowed the kingdom in every direction, making Lisbon the centre for all roads having direct communication with the province. Aqueducts were constructed; towns made sanitary; hospitals, almshouses, model dwellings rose in the large industrial centres. Newly made canals allowed these towns to transport their goods seawards without unnecessary costly relading. The smallest boroughs were provided with schools, etc. But all these works, useful, it is true, and almost necessary, made a large hole in the state coffers. Fontes Pereira de Mello tried to overcome this by getting votes for the modification and increase of old taxes of every kind, even of the yearly land tax, also the amending of indirect taxation. These reforms were the cause of new troubles in Oporto, but they were suppressed without recourse to arms. Lisbon and several other towns followed Oporto's example, and the government, fearing lest troubles there should insensibly assume serious proportions and lead to civil war, yielded to the people's will and withdrew the new taxes (1867).

In 1868, a fresh insurrection broke out in Spain and was necessarily felt in Portugal. It was an immediate question of conferring the Spanish crown so as to fuse the two peoples, a union which would have taken the title of the Iberian Union. But the Portuguese, remembering what their ancestors had suffered under the Spanish yoke, feared lest this union should lead to the surrender of Portugal to Spain, and profited by the anniversary of the coming to the throne of João IV (of the illustrious house of Braganza) in 1640, to make strong resistance against Spain. In view of this excitement, the Spaniards abandoned their first idea, not being willing to expose themselves any more to the vindictiveness of a people not able to forget oppression dating nearly four centuries back.

One of the wisest and most humane reforms, and one which adds most to the glory of Luiz I, was the entire abolition of slavery in every colony. But, by a curious and sad coincidence, as if in answer to the royal benefit, about five hundred Portuguese were pitilessly massacred by natives on the Zambesi. On this news being announced, an army corps embarked immediately to avenge the honour of the flag.<sup>b</sup>

The history of Portugal for the years 1863-1866, as far as its connection with the rest of Europe is concerned, presents almost empty pages — which, however, was not precisely a misfortune to the country. We read in November, 1864, of differences between the government and the pope which ended in the recall from Rome of the Portuguese ambassador, who did not return thither until two years later; of the opening and closing of the

[1864-1894]

sessions of the cortes, of elections, of satisfactory finances, of the modification and change of ministries. It was already something remarkable that the great state question was raised at the birth of a prince in August, 1865, that the papal nuncio would not permit King Victor Emmanuel, the father of the young mother, who was in a sense under a ban, to officiate as godfather, and that the royal child was not admitted to the privilege of baptism until after Napoleon III. had added to his many rôles that of being sponsor to the Portuguese prince.<sup>6</sup>

In 1866 Dom Miguel died, after having stood at the head of the absolutists, calling themselves the Party of the Faith, and sojourning at various European courts. He had been lampooned by the liberal press, but was given a magnificent funeral.

The old and stormy Saldanha threatened a *pronunciamento* in 1870, and succeeded inousting from court the king's favourite, the duke of Loulé. He was appeased by supplanting Loulé as minister, but after four months was gracefully disposed of on the pretext of the embassy to England, where he died in 1876. The ministry of Pereira de Mello lasted for three years, 1876-1880, in which year there was danger of collision with the French Republic on a view of the marriage of Luiz's heir to the daughter of the comte de Paris. The ceding of a portion of the Lower Congo territory to Belgium in 1880, the definition of German and Portuguese spheres of influence in Africa, the cession of the island of Macao by China, the building of a railroad in Angola marked colonial affairs. In 1889 there was alarm over the encroachments of England on Portuguese influence in Africa, and Major Sérgio Pinto invaded territory on the Shiré river claimed by England. The British government demanded reparation and sent to Portugal a fleet which, January 11th, 1890, induced Portugal to withdraw from the Shiré region under protest.

## CARLOS I. BECOMES KING (1889 A.D.)

This surrender provoked outbreaks at Lisbon and Oporto; the ministry of José de Castro resigned, and the republicans, stimulated by the Brazilian success in establishing a republic the year before, turned the anti-British agitation into a republican agitation. King Carlos had succeeded his father when King Luis died of typhoid fever, October 19th, 1889. The new king assumed to side with the popular feeling and refused the order of the Great British Queen Victoria had just offered him. The republican movement crushed itself, and, after various arrests were made, the elections were strongly for the government. August 20th, an agreement with England had been reached, after a vain appeal to international arbitration. The terms were again distasteful to the public and the cortes refused to accept them. Hostilities again took place between the Portuguese and the British in Nika (Mauvau), which, for the terms of the August agreement were Portuguese. But the terms had been declined and the Portuguese were defeated. A military revolt was suppressed in January, 1891, and the republican press suppressed. The terms of the August agreement were now accepted and a treaty with Great Britain was signed May 28th, 1891.

Colonial affairs had now reached a crisis after wrecking so many cabinets. In May, 1892, the government finally declared itself bankrupt. Still José de Castro and Oliveira Martins, after failing as minister to establish a republic in the colonies, gave way to Ferreira, who yielded to Hintze-Rosen, who lasted from 1894 to 1897, and returned in 1899.

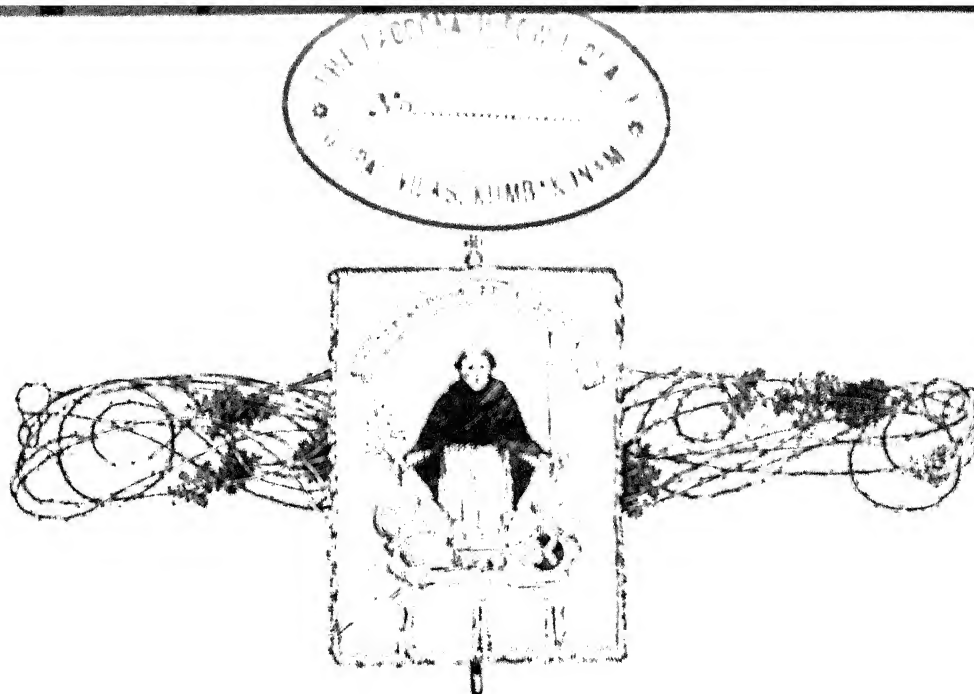


[1864-65]

to offer such prizes as once lay hidden in the Sea of Darkness, but there is a peculiar fitness in the present monarch's interest in that ocean across which his great predecessor showed the path that led Portugal to greatness, and through Portugal turned the whole world to exploration.<sup>a</sup>



A PORTUGUESE PEASANT



## APPENDIX A

### THE INQUISITION<sup>1</sup>

The Inquisition was a political police organization instituted by the Roman church with the concurrence of temporal rulers for the purpose of suppressing heresy and blasphemy. \* \* \* It has left an odious memory—and not without reason. Anyone who denies that atrocities were committed by the Inquisition must indeed be filled by a foolish and prejudiced desire to expunge the deeds of history. But why is it against the Inquisition that the indignation inspired today by the memory of early religious persecutions is particularly directed? Thousands of human beings were burned for their faith before the Inquisition existed. \* \* \* There is one circumstance, however, among others, which explains and justifies the general sentiment, and that is that the Inquisition pretended to be, and was, a regular judicial organization. The worst crimes are forgotten when they are not systematic. It is the long continued travesties of justice perpetrated in the name of fanaticism for reasons of state that arouse the unrelenting resentment. Therefore it is that, whatever be their number, the victims of the Roman Inquisition weigh as heavy in the scales of history. From the article "L'Inquisition," by C. V. Langlois in *La Grande Revue* (Paris, 1900).

All the gods have been addicted to jealousy. Their worshippers have accordingly usually felt and often acted towards heretics with the characteristic ruthlessness of the most mercenary of paganism.

Egypt was not free from religious reigns of terror, nor yet India, nor China, and even the genial creeds of Greece brought the mildly unorthodox Socrates to his death. Rome was comparatively tolerant of alien religions for political convenience, but there were laws against foreign rites in Rome:

[<sup>1</sup> This brief study, inserted here because Spain and Portugal were the chief centres of the fury of the Inquisition, will afford glimpses also of its development in other countries.]

the prætor Hispalus was banished for worshipping Jupiter Sabasius, and the temples of Isis and Serapis were thrown down after they had been erected in the city. Augustus and Tiberius proscribed Egyptian and Jewish worship in Rome, the latter sending four thousand Jews to Sardinia. The hideous sufferings of the early Christians and the martyrdoms they underwent in the arenas are well known.

When at length the victims became the victors and the emperor Constantine was persuaded to Christianity, the same intolerant zeal from which the Christians had suffered now turned the tables on the pagans. At this time the Christians had not developed an idolatry of their own such as later brought on the terrors of the war of the image-breakers, so they heaped contempt upon the objects of worship revered by the pagans. The Jews were as usual the first and the worst sufferers. Then, again, as usual, the bitterest of all punishments were inflicted upon those who differed slightly in doctrine. Constantine tried confiscation and exile on the Donatists, in 316 A.D.; he branded Arius as an infamous outlaw and had his writings burned.

All the laws of Constantine were subsequently renewed by his successors, and applied with more or less rigour to the different heretical sects. By an edict published in January, 381 A.D., Theodosius the Great deprives heretics of all their churches, and annuls all edicts to the contrary into which preceding emperors had been surprised. In this edict he condemns by name the Photinians, Arians, and Eunomians; he recommends the Nicene Creed, and prohibits all assemblies of heretics within the walls of cities; adding, moreover, that if they attempted to cause any disturbance, they should be even banished from the cities.

In the same year he published a much more severe law against the Manichæans; he declared them infamous; deprived them totally of the power of making a will, or even of succeeding to their paternal or maternal property; and ordered all such property to be confiscated, except in the case of children, who were qualified, if they embraced a more holy religion, to inherit their father's or mother's property. Another law of Theodosius treats still more rigorously those Manichæans who disguised themselves under the names of Eucharistites, Saccophori, and Hydroparastates; he subjected them to capital punishment. To insure the execution of this law the emperor orders the præfect of the prætorium to appoint inquisitors, charged to discover heretics and to inform against them.

This is the first time that the name of an inquisitor against heretics occurs; but the Inquisition itself was of older standing, for we have already seen Constantine institute one precisely similar against the Arians and the other heretics of his time. These severe measures were provoked by the abominable doctrine of the Manichæans, which had drawn down on them, from the very origin of their sect, the severity of even the pagan emperors.<sup>c</sup>

When the Arians secured an emperor of their creed they enforced on the Athanasians a heavy usury of exile, punishment, torture, and even death, till the emperor Julian was driven to exclaim, according to Ammianus, "Even heathens are not so cruel to men as the generality of Christians to each other."

This work is not the place for an account of all the heresies that have complicated Christianity without cessation. The great feud of iconoclasm has already been described and the major disagreements between the Greek and Roman churches have been recounted in the history of the papacy, where it was also shown how the growth of papal supremacy brought about a constant duel with the kings and the emperor.<sup>d</sup>



Whilst the hierarchy, unmindful of its spiritual calling, was entangling itself in ceaseless warfare, in order to bring all secular power under its sway; whilst the system of ecclesiastical doctrines, with its progressive development, was enclosing the reason with bonds ever narrowing; whilst the means of salvation held out by the church were at the same time ever more and more losing their spiritual character and their moral power, by the one-sided speculations of the schoolmen, and also sinking to a lifeless mechanism in their administration by a coarse priesthood which had lost all respect for morality; lastly, while this tortuous church system, despairing of any spiritual influence, was endeavouring to win consideration for itself by continual acts of external aggression; it could not but be that the rebellious against the church, who in earlier times came forward but one by one, should now be growing more numerous and more powerful.

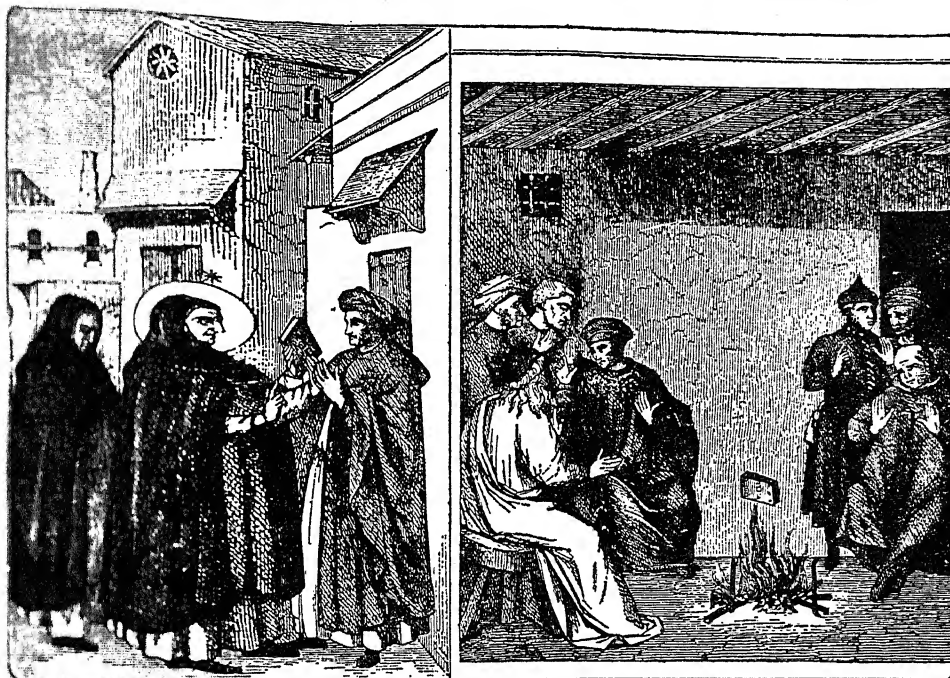
The earlier divisions in the church employed themselves for the most part only in speculations of the understanding; and even for this very reason the church always succeeded, as soon as she could adopt strong measures, in bringing back the recusants, for the interest taken in a moral conception of nearly equivalent meaning seldom remained for many generations unconquered by persecution. But there lay at the root of the opposition to the church, which now began to feel its way forward, a living moral interest, which felt itself injured by the whole condition of the church; and even for this very reason this opposition was rather strengthened than weakened by the bloodshed resorted to as a means to destroy it. It stood always unconquered, although the opposing parties differed widely from each other in the peculiarities of their systems, and modified them in many ways.

#### THE CATHARI

At the same time that two frantic enthusiasts, Tanchelm, who wandered about from 1115 to 1124 in the Netherlands, and Eudes de Stella or Eon, who roved till 1148 in Brittany, perplexed the minds of men, two ecclesiastics in southern France, the priest, Pierre de Bruis or Bruys (from 1104-1124, Petrobrusiani) and Henry, formerly a monk of Cluny and deacon (from 1116-1148, Henriciani), declaimed zealously against the mechanical organisation of the church and the immorality of the clergy. But besides these, the Manichæans who trace their origin to the period of time before this were continually on the increase. The most common names for them now, were in Germany *Cathari* or *Ketzer*, in Italy *Paterini*, in France *Publicani*, though many other names were in use; not only did they make their appearance permanently in most distant quarters of France, but they also planted themselves in the neighbouring countries. The Cathari reached England in the year 1159; they were, however, quickly exterminated.

But the headquarters of the Cathari were those countries in which at that time, along with civic freedom, civilisation, and education, discontent at the wanton and avaricious clergy had grown up in a remarkable manner; such were southern France and northern Italy. In southern France, where Toulouse was their central point, the interest awakened by Pierre de Bruis and Henry worked for their advantage. The synodal decrees issued against them remained without effect, for almost all the barons of this country protected them, and so their numbers here received a very considerable increase. The bishops of the district vainly endeavoured in the council at Lombers (1165) to bring back these *bonos homines*, as they were here usually

called, to the church; little more effect was produced by the cardinal-legate Peter of St. Chrysogonus in Toulouse (1178), and the severe decree of Alexander III, in the Third Lateran Council (1179). Against Roger II, viscount of Béziers, Carcassone, Albi, and Rasez, who protected the Cathari, the cardinal-legate Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, already headed a crusading army (in 1181), but he could produce no lasting effect. [See the history of the Crusades.] In the beginning of the thirteenth century the greater part of the daughters of the nobility were brought up in the educational establishments of the Perfectæ, who lived together in monastic style.



TESTING THE BOOK OF THE TRUE GOSPEL BY FIRE. THE BOOK IS REMOVED, UNSCORCHED, FROM THE FLAMES

(From a sixteenth century cut in the Louvre)

#### THE WALDENSES

From the scriptural and reforming turn of mind which had been spread by means of Pierre de Bruis and Henry, along with the sect of the Cathari, in southern France, there arose from the year 1170 the party of the Waldenses [or Vaudois]:<sup>1</sup> free from all speculative enthusiasm they consecrated all their energies to realise once again apostolic Christendom, with all its simplicity and all its inward devotion. About that year began the founder of the sect, Peter Waldo or Waldensis from Lyons, with several companions,

Confusion has been introduced by both friend and foe into the history of the Waldenses. At first they were confounded with the Cathari or Albigenses by Catholics in order to represent them as Manichæans; by reformed writers in order to clear the Albigenses also from the charge of Manichæism. Further, the origin of the Waldenses is often referred to an earlier period than that of Peter Waldensis, though it is so clearly proved by the witness of contemporaries that he is the founder of the sect.

to preach the Gospel in the manner of the apostles. At first they had so little intention of separating from the church that, when the archbishop of Lyons forbade them to preach, they petitioned the pope Alexander III in 1179 for his permission. But when Lucius III (in 1184) pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, then they thought they must obey God rather than man, and withdrew from a church which cursed that which seemed to them a call from heaven. At first the only question at issue between them and the Roman church was on the exclusive right of the clergy to preach; and they spread themselves more easily in those countries where the deficiency of the church was exposed plainly enough for the conviction of all, but where many still felt themselves not less repulsed by the Catharism, which was set up in opposition; for instance in France, particularly the southern parts, down as far as Aragon, and in northern Italy, particularly in Milan. And in every place where they came fresh zeal went forth from them among the people, to learn to understand Holy Scripture for themselves.

The earlier measures taken against the heretics in southern France had caused so little hindrance to their extension that they constituted the dominant party at the end of the twelfth century in many parts of this country. For this reason Innocent III, immediately after his accession to the see in 1198, was induced to send legates thither armed with the most unlimited powers for the suppression of heretics. After they had produced, by forcible measures, effects more apparent than real, Diego, bishop of Osma, with Dominic, the subprior of his cathedral, persuaded them in the year 1206 to adopt a more apostolic way of proceeding. Now the two legates, the Cistercians Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, with these two Spaniards, wandered barefoot from place to place and held conferences with the heretics on the disputed points (1206 and 1207). When however all this continued without effect, they returned again to the old method with tenfold cruelty.

#### CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES

Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, though outwardly a Catholic, had fallen out with the ambitious legate Peter of Castelnau. So when the latter in 1208 was murdered by an unknown hand, the monks threw the blame on the count; and Innocent III seized this opportunity to have a crusade preached against him by Arnold, abbot of Citeaux; for which national jealousy and the allurements of the delicious south procured great popularity in northern France. In order to avert the threatening danger, Raymond sought for reconciliation. Innocent granted this with a view to weaken the resistance of the victims by division. When, in June, 1209, the count submitted to the most humiliating conditions which Milo the papal legate prescribed to him, and even took the cross himself from his hands, he only effected the delay of the blow destined for himself, that it might strike with so much the greater certainty.

The crusading army assembled against the Albigenses, with the frantic Arnold<sup>1</sup> as papal legate at its head, first marched upon the domain of Raymond Roger, viscount of Béziers (1209). After the fall of Béziers and Carcassonne, the devastated land was conquered. But among the noble

[<sup>1</sup> This terrible man, in his letter to Innocent III announcing his victories, relates himself with triumph: "Our troops sparing neither sex nor age put to the sword nearly twenty thousand; splendid deeds were accomplished in the overthrow of the enemies, the whole city was sacked and burned by a divine revenge marvellous fierce."]

crusaders, only Simon de Montfort was willing to receive the spoil from the legate. Next they turned against Raymond of Toulouse, who had been spared till now. Extravagant demands, which he could not satisfy, formed the pretext for excommunicating and attacking him (1211). The pope himself was no longer able to check his own instruments; the crusade was preached with fresh ardour; the territory of the count was conquered by Simon de Montfort, and formally adjudged to him by a council at Montpellier in 1213 for his own possession.

Innocent III did not only confirm this grant at the great Lateran Council in the same year, but also held up the principle of the method of procedure hitherto adopted against these countries, as a precedent in similar cases. Then at length Raymond sought for help in the attachment of his former subjects, and after Simon's death (1218) he made a considerable advance in the reconquest of his country, although the pope, without ceasing, used every means of resistance. When, after the death of Raymond VI (1222), Raymond VII regained his whole ancestral heritage, and had even forced his enemy Amaury, son of Simon, to a complete surrender, then Honorius III, elsewhere so mild, still thought it due to the papal honour to hate the father in the son, however guiltless. He stirred up Louis VIII, king of France, to conquer Toulouse for himself in a new crusade. Hostilities began on the 22nd of June, 1226, but they were greatly crippled by the death of Louis VIII on the 8th of November of the same year; at length Raymond obtained peace on the hardest conditions, by which a part of his domain passed into the power of France, and the annexation of the rest to this kingdom was facilitated.

#### THE INQUISITION ESTABLISHED

The unhappiness of this country was accomplished by the horrors of the Inquisition which now rose up.<sup>1</sup> In order to perpetuate the work of blood begun by the papal legate in a permanent institution, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 made it the chief business of the episcopal synodal tribunals to search out and punish heretics; and the Council of Toulouse (1229) achieved the organisation of this episcopal Inquisition. However, soon after it was in fact almost annihilated; for in 1232 and 1233 Gregory IX appointed the Dominicans to be the standing papal inquisitors, and forthwith they began their hideous work in the countries tainted with heresy. In order that the church may not seem to soil herself with blood, the secular power must serve the office as executioner. Louis IX in 1228, Frederick II in 1232, the ill-fated Raymond VII in 1233, each passed the requisite laws.

That the new Inquisition might strike more of the guilty, a way of proceeding was prescribed for it, to which of necessity many of the guiltless must fall victims. Thus armed, this monster raged with most frightful fury throughout France, where the heretics had only learned from former events

<sup>1</sup> Some Catholic writers would fain excuse St. Dominic from the imputation of having founded the Inquisition. It is true he died some years before the organisation of that tribunal; but he established the principles on which, and the monkish militia by whom, it was administered. The Council of Paris has set it up to a much more remote antiquity. According to him, God was the first inquisitor, and his condemnation of Adam and Eve furnished the model of the judicial trial, as seen in the trials of the Holy Office. The sentence of Adam was the type of the sentence of heretics, and his expulsion from paradise the precedent for the confiscation of the goods of heretics. His learned posterity deduced a succession of inquisitors through the patriarchs, Moses, Aaron, and the prophets, down to John the Baptist, and even Christ, in whose personage and death the high abundant authority for the tribunal.<sup>m</sup>

to keep themselves more secret. Germany for a short space of time (1231-1233) was taught to know the Inquisition in its maddest rage in Conrad of Marburg, and in the Dominican monk Conrad Dorso who came to Strasburg; and at the same time acquired the most fearful experience of the abuse of the new laws against heretics in the crusade on the Stedinger, the lovers of freedom, in 1234. But by these events so universal a resistance against every Inquisition was aroused, that Germany for a long time after remained free from this monster.

In the twelfth century the executions of heretics were for the most part the handiwork of the irritated populace, and even found much opposition among the clergy. However, the theory of religion, which in the thirteenth century was especially flexible, in this case also adapted itself to the practice of the church by the vindication of the new laws against heresy.

Another no less evil result of this period, so fraught with outrage, was that the laity were entirely forbidden Holy Scripture, so that the possession of a translation of the Bible was forthwith accounted a token of heresy, and only translations prepared for the purpose of supporting the Romish church were tolerated.



COSTUME OF A PERSON CON-  
DEMNED TO BE BURNED,  
BUT WHO CONFESSED BE-  
FORE HIS CONDEMNATION

(From *Historia Inquisitionis*,  
1592)

The regulations which were adopted against the heretics, and the cruel manner in which their so-called conversion was pursued, could only produce exactly the contrary effect to that they had in view upon their convictions. This, however, they did accomplish, that the persecuted persons, filled with exaggerated hatred and horror of the church, spread themselves with the greatest secrecy over other countries also. Thus in the thirteenth century public feeling was roused ever more and more against Rome, against the clergy, and against the abuses of the church, and from time to time there rose a stirring sense of the necessity of a reformation to counteract them. On comparison of the morals of the clergy with those of the heretics, the advantage is decidedly in favour of the latter; so it cannot seem strange if in the thirteenth century we find the earlier parties more widely spread than before, and fresh sects springing up alongside of them. Yet the number of new names of heretics in this period is far greater than that of new parties.

The Cathari, or as they are now more commonly called the Albigenses or Bulgarians, did not only maintain their ground in southern France, but increased in number chiefly in upper Italy, where the political distraction of the country was advantageous to them, and where Milan continued to be their principal abode. But they spread themselves also into the rest of Italy as far as Spain, and throughout Germany; they were very numerous in Bosnia and the adjoining countries, often the prevailing party, and they maintained in all lands a close connection with each other.

When the persecutions began, the Waldenses were standing so near the Catholic church that a reconciliation seemed to be by no means difficult. But the horrors of the persecution had no further effect on the Waldenses than to confirm them more and more in their anti-hierarchical system, and to place their doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution on a more



independent footing. The more plainly their departure from church teaching could vindicate itself as a purification of the church, the more easy acceptance they found with the thoughtful of their time. As early as in the thirteenth century they showed themselves in the valleys of Piedmont, in which they have maintained themselves until now. Still, not only did they spread in other countries, as for instance as far as Germany, but also put in circulation among numbers, who did not come over to their society, ideas unfavourable to the prevailing faith of the church.

Besides the old sects, new ones were engendered in the thirteenth century. The pantheistic system introduced by Amalric of Bène, after the persecution it underwent in Paris in the year 1210, only spread more widely than before. In the course of the thirteenth century its disciples might be found in different places; at the end of this century they were already so numerous among the Beghards on the Rhine that the people understood them only to be meant by the name of Beghards, although they called themselves brothers and sisters of the Free Spirit. In the beginning of the fourteenth century they made their appearance also in Italy.

Other sects pass quickly in review before us. As the universal discontent of the advancing tyranny of the hierarchy aroused isolated resistances in England and in France, so the ill usage of the Hohenstaufen family gave rise to a sect in Halle in Swabia (about 1248), which declared the hierarchy to be abolished in consequence of its moral corruption of the entire purpose of the church. After the extermination of the Hohenstaufen family the detestation caused by this deed of the hierarchy was maintained for centuries by the expectation that one time an emperor Frederick would wreak vengeance in blood on the papacy. This expectation also found place among the manifold superstitions, chiefly borrowed from the Fratricelli, with which the apostolic brothers from 1260 to 1307 disquieted the north of Italy.<sup>d</sup>

The statutes of the Council of Toulouse (1229), framed after the successful termination of the war against the Albigenses, in order to absolutely extirpate every lingering vestige of heresy, form the code of persecution, which not merely aimed at suppressing all public teaching but the more secluded and secret freedom of thought. It was a system which penetrated into the most intimate sanctuary of domestic life; and made delation not merely a merit and a duty, but an obligation also, enforced by tremendous penalties.

The archbishops, bishops, and exempt abbots were to appoint in every parish one priest, and three or more lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings, in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord, or his bailiff, so as to insure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their estates. Whoever was convicted of harbouring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. If he was guilty of such concealment from negligence, not from intention, he received proportionate punishment. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated. The bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics, however, were not to be judged but by the bishop or some ecclesiastical person.

Anyone might seize a heretic on the lands of another. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes, and settled in Catholic cities; to wear two crosses of a different colour from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. They were incapable of any public function



unless reconciled by the pope or by his legate. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be immured forever. All persons, males of the age of fourteen, females of twelve, were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and of their Catholic faith; if absent, and not appearing within fifteen days, they were held suspected of heresy. All persons were to confess, and communicate three times a year, or were in like manner under suspicion of heresy. No layman was permitted to have any book of the Old or New Testament, especially in a translation, unless perhaps the Psalter, with a breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin. No one suspected of heresy could practise as a physician. Care was to be taken that no heretic had access to sick or dying persons. All wills were to be made in the presence of a priest. No office of trust was to be held by one in evil fame as a heretic. Those were in evil fame who were so by common report, or so declared by good and grave witnesses before the bishop.

But statutes of persecution always require new statutes rising above each other in regular gradations of rigour and cruelty. The legate found the canons of Toulouse to be eluded or inefficient. He summoned a council at Melun, attended by the archbishop of Narbonne and other prelates. The unhappy count of Toulouse was compelled to frame the edicts of this council into laws for his dominions. The first provision showed that persecution had wrought despair. It was directed against those who had murdered, or should murder, or conceal the murderers of persecutors of heretics. A reward of one mark was set on the head of every heretic, to be paid by the town, or village, or district to the captor.

It was evident that the heretics had now begun to seek concealment in cabins, in caves, and rocks, and forests; not merely was every house in which one should be seized to be razed to the ground, but all suspected caves or hiding-places were to be blocked up; with a penalty of twenty-five livres of Toulouse to the lord on whose estate such houses or places of concealment of evil report should be found. Those who did not assist in the capture of heretics were liable to punishment. If any one was detected after death to have been a heretic, his property was confiscated. Those who had made over their estates in trust, before they became heretics, nevertheless forfeited such estates. Those who attempted to elude the law by moving about, under pretence of trade or pilgrimage, were ordered to render an account of their absence. A council at Béziers (1233) enforced upon the clergy, under pain of suspension or of deprivation, the denunciation of all who should not attend divine service in their churches on the appointed days, especially those suspected of heresy.<sup>g</sup>

#### METHOD OF PROCEDURE WITH A SUSPECT

The method of proceeding in the courts of the Inquisition was at first simple, and not materially different from that in the ordinary courts. But gradually the Dominicans, guided by experience, rendered it far more complex; and so shaped their proceedings that the mode of trying heretical causes (if the phrase be allowable) became altogether different from that usually practised in judicial proceedings. For these good friars, being wholly unskilled in forensic affairs, and acquainted with no other tribunal than that which in the Romish church is called the penitentiary tribunal, regulated these new courts of the Inquisition, as far as possible, according to the plan of those religious proceedings. And hence arose that strange system

of jurisprudence, bearing in many respects the most striking features of injustice and wrong. Whoever duly considers this history of their origin will be able to account for many things that seem unsuitable, absurd, and contrary to justice, in the mode of proceeding against offenders in the courts of the Inquisition.<sup>e</sup>

When the Inquisition discovered a transgressor of their laws, either by common report, or by their spies, or by an informer, he was cited three times to appear before them; and if he did not appear, he was forthwith condemned. It was safest to appear on the first citation; because the longer a man delayed the more guilty he would be; and the Inquisition had their spies, and a thousand concealed ways for getting an absconding heretic in their power.

When a supposed heretic was once in the hands of the Inquisition, no one dared to inquire after him, or write to him, or intercede for him. When everything belonging to the person seized was in their hands, then the process began; and it was protracted in the most tedious manner.

After many days, or perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper of the prison asked him, as it were accidentally, if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they inquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted. If he wished to be informed what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflection, and he was remanded to prison. If, after a long time allowed him, he still confessed nothing, he must swear to answer truly to all the questions put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further process. If he swore to give answer, he was questioned in regard to his whole life, without making known to him his offence. He was, however, promised a pardon if he would truly confess his offences; an artifice this, by which his judges often learned more than they knew before against him.

At last the charges against him were presented to him in writing, and counsel also was assigned him, who, however, only advised him to confess fully his faults. The accuser and informer against him were not made known to him, but the real charges against him were put into his hands. He was allowed time for his defence; but his accuser, and the witnesses against him, he could know only by conjecture. Sometimes he was so fortunate as to discover who they were; but rarely were they presented before him, and confronted with him.

If his answers did not satisfy the judges, or if the allegations against him were not adequately proved, resort was had to torture. Each of these tortures was continued as long as, in the judgment of the physician of the Inquisition, the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated, first to discover the object and motives of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices.

If, when tortured, he confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was that the accused,



COSTUME OF A CONDEMNED  
PERSON WHO CONFESSED  
AFTER CONVICTION

(From *Historia Inquisitionis*,  
1592)

when he seemed to have satisfied the judges, was condemned, according to the measure of his offence, to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities, who were intreated to spare his life, as the church never thirsted for blood; but yet they would experience persecution if they did not carry the decisions of the court into execution.

What an infernal device is the Inquisition! What innocent person could escape destruction, if an inquisitor were disposed to destroy him? A heretic, even if he had been acquitted by the pope himself, might still be condemned to die by the Inquisition. An equivocal promise of pardon might be given to induce him to make confession, but the promise must not be fulfilled when the object of it was obtained. Even death did not free a person from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition; for a deceased heretic must be burned in effigy. Would not every feeling of humanity be outraged by following such horrid principles? The inquisitorial judges did not deny that by such proceedings many innocent persons unavoidably perished, along with the guilty; but this did not trouble them. "Better," they said, "that a hundred innocent persons should be cut off and go to paradise, than let one heretic escape, who might poison many souls and plunge them into endless perdition."

#### JOHN FOXE ON THE EVILS OF THE INQUISITION

"The abuse of this Inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison, and then find out crimes against him at leisure, and in the meantime no man living is so hardy as once to open his mouth for him. If the father speak one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favourer of heretics; neither is it permitted to any person to enter in to the prisoner; but there he is alone, in a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is, and is not suffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darkness palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

"By this it may be esteemed what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and cogitations they sustain, who are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and showed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together treated much more cruelly, out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process no person knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors, who are sworn to execute the torments. All this is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many years endured in the prison, if any man shall be saved, it must be by guessing; for all the proceedings of the court of that execrable Inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger-mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatsoever is done is secret, neither is the poor prisoner ever advised of

anything. If he can guess who accused him, whereof and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his life; but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath long time endured infinite torments; and this is called their "penitence," and so is he let go; and yet not so but that he is enjoined, before he pass the inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a garment of yellow colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race. And if he cannot guess right, showing to the inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof, and wherefore (as is before touched), incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate heretic. And yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after he hath endured imprisonment in some heinous prison."

## HOW A PENITENT WAS TREATED

It was a peculiar horror of the Inquisition that while almost anyone might be haled before it, even on an anonymous complaint, hardly anyone ever escaped certain penalties. If the fate of the wretch was heavy, who, being innocent of heresy would not confess his guilt and therefore was tortured until he confessed imaginary guilt, and was then burned to death, hardly less was the misery of the victim who repented or recanted and was freed from the death penalty. The penalty for recantation can hardly be more plainly stated than an actual order quoted by Llorente,<sup>k</sup> giving the punishment awarded by St. Dominic himself to a repentant heretic even before the actual organisation of the Inquisition.<sup>l</sup>

"To all faithful Christians to whom these presents may come. Friar Dominic, canon of Osma, the least of the preachers, greeting in Christ. By the authority of the lord abbot of Cister (Cîteaux), legate of the apostolic see (whose power we exercise) we have reconciled the bearer of these presents, Poncio Roger, converted from the sect of the heretics by the grace of God; and we have enjoined him in virtue of the sworn promise which he has made to comply with our precepts that on three Sunday festivals he be led, striped, by a priest, who shall scourge him from the gates of the city to those of the church.

"We further lay upon him, by way of penance, that he abstain from eating flesh meat, eggs, cheese, and other foods derived from animals, forever. Save only on the day of the resurrection, of Pentecost, and of the Lord's nativity, on which days we command him to partake thereof as a mark of his deprecation of his former error. He shall observe four Lents in the year, abstaining from fish, and shall forever fast and abstain from fish, oil, and wine three days in the week, save only when physical infirmities or the labours of his station require a dispensation. He shall wear religious garments both in shape and colour, with two small crosses sewn on each side of his breast. He shall hear mass every day when occasion serves, and on feast days he shall assist at vespers in the church. Every day he shall recite



COSTUME OF A CONDEMNED PERSON WHO HAD NOT CONFESSED

(From *Historia Inquisitionis*, 1592)

the Hours for the day and night, and shall repeat the prayer 'Our Father' seven times during the day, ten times in the night, and twenty times at midnight. He shall observe chastity, and shall present this letter one day, in the morning, every month, in the town of Cereri to his parish priest, whom we enjoin to watch over the conduct of Poncio, who shall faithfully observe all that is here expressed until the lord legate shall manifest his will. And should Poncio fail in his observance we command that he be held perjured, heretic, and excommunicated, and be separated from the company of the faithful." <sup>k</sup>

#### THE HISTORY OF TORTURE

If the above document gives a foreshadowing of the rigours of the Inquisition towards those whose only error was a temporary wavering of opinion, what can be expected as the fate of those who persisted in their error, or denied it in spite of witnesses? — surely some distinguished form of punishment. Death was not enough, for thus the heretic instantly escaped the clutches of the disciplinarians. Torture was the resource. Before taking up this blackest subject on the page of human history, it is desirable to trace briefly its evolution, for torture was by no means the invention or monopoly of the Inquisition, though it has come to be thought so in the popular mind.

It is only justice to the church and to the zealots of that time to emphasise the fact that when the inquisitors sought a tool for special punishment, they found it ready at hand, made familiar and natural by the civil law of the day. Furthermore torture was a venerable institution.

The Greeks used torture for cross-examining slaves and at times non-residents and even free citizens; the Romans under the republic practised it on slaves, and under the empire on citizens; the man accused of treason was always liable to it, as well as those whose testimony was open to the charge of confusion or inconsistency. Even in Cicero's time there was a grim machinery for the purpose. Torture in England though not legal was practised, as it was on the continent, and in Scotland where it had the best civil sanction. Even in the United States there is one instance of torture, but that was during the Salem witchcraft insanity, though, like the inquisitorial processes, it was conducted by the church and civil government, and like so many of the inquisitorial punishments was due to an accusation of sorcery. The belief in witchcraft, now obsolete among even the common people, was once supported by a papal bull and by Sprenger's<sup>1</sup> tremendous work, called *The Hammer of Witches*, which Henry C. Lea<sup>2</sup> calls "the most portentous monument of superstition which the world has produced."

The civil powers had then used torture from time immemorial. The people were as used to it in that day as we of to-day are to certain torments of animals cooked alive or otherwise worried to death. The crime of treason was specifically devoted to torture. As heresy was in the days of temporal church power distinctly a crime of treason, the secular authorities were ordered to punish it. In fact the church took the stand that it was simply hunting for justice, and when it found the accused innocent, it technically "intervened" in his behalf and "stayed the arm of the law."<sup>1</sup>

But while using these facts to prevent us from thinking of the inquisitors as men of diabolical invention unlike their kind or their time in manner of thought or action, and while giving these facts their due weight in palliation

[<sup>1</sup> Among the modern apologists for the Inquisition may be named Rodrigo<sup>22</sup> and Orti y Lara.<sup>23</sup>]

of the personal offences of the inquisitors against fundamental principles of justice and mercy, we must not forget that, though the church took the idea of torture from the civil law and compelled the civil officials to administer it, yet the church enlarged the methods of torment and the causes for its use; the church forced upon the law and upon the monarchs many extremes of cruelty to which they were reluctant and against which they often mutinied.

And finally, seeing that the best men of the time were supposed to enter the church, and that the church appointed as inquisitors only its most exemplary members,<sup>1</sup> the defence of the Inquisition by some of its apologists on the ground of its origin in the customs of the period, really amounts to the astounding implication that the best men of the church were only a little worse than the average of their time.

It is stupefying to reflect on the character of the torments which crowds of people once watched for hours with joy, and which the supposedly best and gentlest spirits, the church fathers, inflicted day after day with all the fascination of ingenuity put to its utmost test. Such torments we of to-day can neither approve nor permit, and can hardly read of without nausea. None the less, lest we forget the horrors to which the doctrine of religious intolerance can drive mankind, and lest we lose the lesson of all history that no excess of punishment ever yet stopped the human hunger for liberty of thought and action, it will be well to place here a few of the more authentic instances of inquisitorial outrage.

We may well begin with the description from contemporaries, such as the history of Gonsalvius Montanus<sup>o</sup> or Gonzalez de Montés, a Spanish Protestant, who narrowly escaped death, whose friend was martyred, and who published a book on the Inquisition at Heidelberg in 1597. He is quoted with others in the history of Limborch,<sup>b</sup> which was published in 1692, and based almost solely on the church's own accounts.<sup>c</sup>

#### *A Contemporary Account of the Preliminaries to Torture*

The place of torture in the Spanish Inquisition is generally an underground and very dark room, to which one enters through several doors. There is a tribunal erected in it, where the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary sit. When the candles are lighted, and the person to be tortured is brought in, the executioner, who was waiting for the other, makes an astonishing and dreadful appearance. He is covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet, and tied close to his body. His head and face are all hid with a long black cowl, only two little holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable wretch with greater terror in mind and body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the hands of one who thus looks like the very devil.<sup>o</sup>

Whilst the officers are getting things ready for the torture, the bishop and inquisitor by themselves, and other good men zealous for the faith, endeavour to persuade the person to be tortured freely to confess the truth, and if he will not, they order the officers to strip him, who do it in an instant. Clergymen however must not be tortured by a lay officer or torturer unless

[<sup>1</sup> Thus in Spain, Pope Sixtus IV, in a special bull of November 1st, 1478, quoted by Llorente, & conferring on Ferdinand and Isabella the power to appoint inquisitors, insisted that they be "two or three bishops or archbishops, or other competent and honest men, secular or regular priests upwards of forty years of age, of good life and customs, masters or bachelors of theology, and doctors or licentiates in canon law, by virtue of a strict examination."]



they cannot find any clergymen who know how to do it, or are willing, because it would be in vain for the judges to order any clergyman or monk to the torture, if there was nobody to inflict it; and therefore in such a case it is usual to torture them by lay officers.

Whilst the person to be tortured is stripping, he is persuaded to confess the truth. If he refuses it, he is taken aside by certain good men, and urged to confess, and told by them that if he confesses, he will not be put to death, but only be made to swear that he will not return to the heresy he hath abjured. The inquisitor and bishop promise the same, unless the person be a relapse.

If he is persuaded neither by threatenings nor promises to confess his crime, he is tortured either more lightly or grievously, according as his crime requires, and frequently interrogated during the torture, upon those articles for which he is put to it, beginning with the lesser ones, because they think he will sooner confess the lesser matters than the greater. According to the directions of Royat, one of the Spanish inquisitors: "The criminals are with great care and diligence to be admonished by the inquisitors, and especially when they are under torture, that they should not by any means bear false witness against themselves or others, through fear of punishment or torments, but speak the truth only. Nor may the inquisitors promise pardon or forgiveness of the offence, to compel the criminals to confess crimes which they have not committed, out of their great zeal to inquire out the truth. And such a false confession the accused person may safely reveal."

The inquisitors themselves must interrogate the criminals during their torture, nor can they commit this business to others, unless they are engaged in other important affairs, in which case they may depute certain good and skilful men for the purpose. Although in other nations criminals are publicly tortured, yet in Spain it is forbidden by the royal law for any to be present whilst they are torturing, besides the judges, secretaries, and torturers. The inquisitors must also choose proper torturers, born of ancient Christians, who must be bound by oath by no means to discover their secrets, nor to report anything that is said. The judges also usually protest that if the criminal should happen to die under his torture, or by reason of it, or should suffer the loss of any of his limbs, it is not to be imputed to them, but to the criminal himself, who will not plainly confess the truth before he is tortured. A heretic may not only be interrogated concerning himself, but in general also concerning his companions and accomplices in his crime, his teachers and his disciples, for he ought to discover them, though he be not interrogated; but when he is interrogated concerning them, he is much more obliged to discover them than his accomplices in any other the most grievous crimes.

A person also suspected of heresy, and fully convicted, may be tortured upon another account, *i.e.* to discover his companions and accomplices in the crime. This must be done when he hesitates, or it is half fully proved at least that he was actually present with them, or he hath such companions and accomplices in his crime; for in this case he is not tortured as a criminal, but as a witness. But he who makes full confession of himself is not tortured upon a different account; whereas if he be a negative, he may be tortured upon another account, to discover his accomplices and other heretics, though he be full convicted himself, and it be half fully proved that he hath such accomplices. The reason of the difference in these cases is this, because he who confesses against himself would certainly much rather confess against other heretics if he knew them. But it is otherwise when the criminal is a negative.

Whilst these things are doing, the notary writes everything down in the process, as what tortures were inflicted, concerning what matters the prisoner was interrogated, and what he answered. If by these tortures they cannot draw from him a confession, they show him other kind of tortures and tell him he must undergo all of them, unless he confesses the truth. If neither by this means they can extort the truth, they may, to terrify him and engage him to confess, assign the second or third day to continue, not to repeat, the torture, till he hath undergone all those kinds of them to which he is condemned.

The degrees of tortures formerly used were five, which were inflicted in their turn, and are described by Julius Clarus [member of the council to Philip II of Spain]. "Know therefore," says he, "that there are five degrees of torture, viz., first, the being threatened to be tortured; secondly, being carried to the place of torture; thirdly, by stripping and binding; fourthly, the being hoisted upon the rack; fifthly, squassation."

The stripping is performed without any regard to humanity or honour, not only to men, but to women and virgins, though the most virtuous and chaste, of whom they have sometimes many in their prison. For they cause them to be stripped, even to their very shifts, which they afterwards take off, forgive the expression, and then put on them straight linen drawers, and then make their arms naked quite up to their shoulders.

As to squassation, it is thus performed: the prisoner hath his hands bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on high till his head reaches the very pulley. He is kept hanging in this manner for some time, that by the greatness of the weight hanging at his feet all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a jerk, by the slacking the rope, but kept from coming quite to the ground, by which terrible shake his arms and legs are all disjoined, whereby he is put to the most exquisite pain; the shock which he receives by the sudden stop of the fall, and the weight at his feet stretching his whole body more intensely and cruelly.<sup>6</sup>

The inquisitors sometimes shamefully and rashly proceed to the torture of innocent persons, as will evidently appear by one instance, not to mention more, given us by Gonsalvus. "They apprehended in the Inquisition at Seville a noble lady, Joan Bohorquia, the wife of Francis Varquius, a very eminent man, and lord of Higuera, and daughter of Peter Garsia Xeresius, a wealthy citizen of Seville. The occasion of her imprisonment was that her sister, Mary Bohorquia, a young lady of eminent piety, who was afterwards burned for her pious confession, had declared in her torture that she had several times conversed with her sister concerning her own doctrine. When she was first imprisoned, she was about six months gone with child, upon which account she was not so straightly confined, nor used with that cruelty which the other prisoners were treated with, out of regard to the infant she carried in her.

"Eight days after her delivery, they took the child from her, and on the fifteenth shut her close up, and made her undergo the fate of the other prisoners, and began to manage her with their usual arts and rigour. In so dreadful a calamity she had only this comfort, that a certain pious young woman, who was afterwards burned for her religion by the inquisitors, was allowed her for her companion. This young creature was, on a certain day, carried out to her torture, and being returned from it into her jail, she was so shaken, and had all her limbs so miserably disjoined, that when she laid upon her bed of rushes it rather increased her misery than gave her rest, so

that she could not turn herself without the most excessive pain. In this condition, as Bohorquia had it not in her power to show her any, or but very little outward kindness, she endeavoured to comfort her mind with great tenderness. The girl had scarce begun to recover from her torture, when Bohorquia was carried out to the same exercise, and was tortured with such diabolical cruelty upon the rack, that the rope pierced and cut into the very bones in several places, and in this manner she was brought back to prison, just ready to expire, the blood immediately running out of her mouth in great plenty. Undoubtedly they had burst her bowels, insomuch that the eighth day after her torture she died.

"And when, after all, they could not procure sufficient evidence to condemn her, though sought after and procured by all their inquisitorial arts, yet as the accused person was born in that place, where they were obliged to give some account of the affair to the people, and indeed could not by any means dissemble it, in the first act of triumph appointed her death, they commanded her sentence to be pronounced in these words: 'Because this lady died in prison (without doubt suppressing the causes of it), and was found to be innocent upon inspecting and diligently examining her cause, therefore the holy tribunal pronounces her free from all charges brought against her by the fiscal, and absolving her from any further process, doth restore her both as to her innocence and reputation, and commands all her effects, which had been confiscated, to be restored to those to whom they of right belonged,' etc. And thus, after they had murdered her by torture with savage cruelty, they pronounced her innocent!"

#### LIMBORCH'S ACCOUNT OF THE FATE OF A JEW

The method of torturing and the degree of tortures used in the Spanish Inquisition will be well understood from the history of Isaac Orobio, a Jew, and doctor of physick, who was accused to the Inquisition as a Jew by a certain Moor, his servant, who had by his order before this been whipped for thieving; and four years after this he was again accused by a certain enemy of his for another fact, which would have proved him a Jew. But Orobio obstinately denied that he was one. I will here give the account of his torture, as I had it from his own mouth. After three whole years which he had been in jail, and several examinations, and the discovery of the crimes to him of which he was accused, in order to his confession and his constant denial of them, he was at length carried out of his jail, and through several turnings brought to the place of torture. This was towards the evening.

It was a large underground room, arched, and the walls covered with black hangings. The candlesticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole room enlightened with candles placed in them. At one end of it there was an enclosed place like a closet, where the inquisitor and notary sat at a table, so that the place seemed to him as the very mansion of death, everything appearing so terrible and awful. Here the inquisitor again admonished him to confess the truth before his torments began.

When he answered he had told the truth, the inquisitor gravely protested that, since he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the Holy Office would be innocent, if he should shed his blood, or even expire in his torments. When he had said this, he put a linen garment over his body, and drew it so very close on each side, as almost squeezed him to death. When he was almost dying, they slackened at once the sides of the garment,

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er he began to breathe again, the sudden alteration put him to the rievous anguish and pain. When he had overcome this torture, the lmonition was repeated, that he would confess the truth in order to further torment.

l as he persisted in his denial, they tied his thumbs so very tightly all cords as made the extremities of them greatly swell, and caused od to spurt out from under his nails. After this he was placed with k against a wall and fixed upon a little bench. Into the wall were l little iron pulleys, through which there were ropes drawn, and tied his body in several places, and especially his arms and legs. The oner drawing these ropes with great violence, fastened his body with the wall so that his hands and feet, and especially his fingers and ing bound so straightly with them, put him to the most exquisite id seemed to him just as though he had been dissolving in flames. midst of these torments the torturer, of a sudden, drew the bench nder him, so that the miserable wretch hung by the cords without g to support him, and by the weight of his body drew the knots yet loser.

r this a new kind of torture succeeded. There was an instrument mall ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood and five cross ones ed before. This the torturer placed over against him, and by a cer- per motion struck it with great violence against both his shins, so received upon each of them at once five violent strokes, which put such intolerable anguish that he fainted away. After he came to , they inflicted on him the last torture.

torturer tied ropes about Orobio's wrists and then put those ropes is own back, which was covered with leather, to prevent his hurting . Then falling backwards and putting his feet up against the wall, r them with all his might till they cut through Orobio's flesh, even to y bones; and this torture was repeated thrice, the ropes being tied is arms about the distance of two fingers' breadth from the former and drawn with the same violence.

it happened that, as the ropes were drawing the second time, they o the first wound, which caused so great an effusion of blood that he to be dying. Upon this the physician and surgeon, who are always vere sent for out of a neighbouring apartment to ask their advice r the torture could be continued without danger of death, lest the stical judges should be guilty of an irregularity if the criminal should is torments.

y, who were far from being enemies to Orobio, answered that he ength enough to endure the rest of the torture, and hereby preserved om having the tortures he had already endured repeated on him, his sentence was that he should suffer them all at one time, one other. So that if at any time they are forced to leave off through death, all the tortures, even those already suffered, must be succes- nflicted to satisfy the sentence. Upon this the torture was repeated d time, and then it ended. After this he was bound up in his own and carried back to his prison, and was scarce healed of his wounds ty days. And, inasmuch as he made no confession under his torture, condemned, not as one convicted, but suspected of Judaism, to wear whole years the infamous habit called *sambenito*, and it was further l that after that term he should suffer perpetual banishment from the m of Seville.

## OTHER FORMS OF TORTURE

Gonsalvius<sup>c</sup> tells us of another kind of torture. There is a wooden bench, which they call "the wooden horse," made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length, about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed, so that he lies upon the bar instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head. As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins are tied round with small cords or strings, which being drawn with screws at proper distance from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned.

*The Tormento di Toca*

Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a thin cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe through them, and in the meanwhile a small stream of water like a thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high upon the mouth of the person lying in this miserable condition and so easily sinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat, so that there is no possibility of breathing, his mouth being stopped with water and his nostrils with the cloth, so that the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die, and breathing out their last. When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions, it is all wet with water and blood, and is like pulling his bowels through his mouth.

*The Chafing-dish; The Water-cure*

There is also another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call the fire. They order a large iron chafing-dish full of lighted charcoal to be brought in and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, greased over with lard, so that the heat of the fire may more quickly pierce through them.

This is inquisition by torture, when there is only half full proof of their crime. However, at other times torments are sometimes inflicted upon persons condemned to death, as a punishment preceding that of death. Of this we have a remarkable instance in William Lithgow,<sup>w</sup> an Englishman, who, as he tells us in his travels, was taken up as a spy in Malaga, and was exposed to the most cruel torments upon the Wooden Horse. But when nothing could be extorted from him, he was delivered to the Inquisition as an heretic. He was condemned, in the beginning of Lent, to suffer the night following eleven most cruel torments, and after Easter to be carried privately to Grenada, there to be buried at midnight, and his ashes to be scattered into the air; when night came on his fetters were taken off, then he was stripped naked, put upon his knees, and his head lifted up by force; after which, opening his mouth with iron instruments, they filled his belly with water till it came out of his jaws. Then they tied a rope hard about his neck, and in this condition rolled him seven times the whole length of the room, till he almost quite strangled. After this they tied a small cord about both his great toes, and hung him up thereby with his head down, letting him remain in this condition till all the water discharged itself out of his mouth, so that he was laid on the ground as just dead, and had his irons put on him again. But beyond all expectation, and by a very singular accident, he was delivered out of jail, escaped death, and fortunately sailed home to England.<sup>b</sup>



Details of another revolting case are quoted by Limborch from an official contemporary document, which may best be reproduced here in its original form.<sup>a</sup>

## THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST AN ENGLISHWOMAN

Elizabeth Vasconcellos, now in the city of Lisbon, doth, on the 10th day December, *anno* 1706, in the presence of John Milner, Esq., her majesty's consul-general of Portugal, and Joseph Willcocks, minister of the English story at Lisbon, declare and testify:

That she was born at Arlington, in the county of Devon, and a daughter John Chester, Esq., bred up in the church of England; and in the seventh year of her age her uncle, David Morgan, of Cork, intending to go and settle in Jamaica as a physician, by her father's consent, he having several children, took her with him to provide for her.

In 1685, they went in an English ship, and near the island they were attacked by two Turkish ships; in the fight her uncle was killed, but the ship got clear into Madeira, and she, though left destitute, was entertained by Mr. Bedford, a merchant, with whom, and other English, she lived as a servant till 1696. In that year she was married by the chaplain of an English man-of-war to Cordoza de Vasconcellos, a physician of that island, and lived with him eight years, and never in the least conformed to the Romish church.

In 1704, her husband being gone on a voyage to Brazil, she fell dangerously ill, and, being light-headed, a priest gave her the sacrament, as she was told afterwards, for she remembered nothing of it. It pleased God she recovered, and then they told her she had changed her religion, and must conform to the Romish church, which she denied and refused to conform; and thereupon, by the bishop of that island, she was imprisoned nine months, and then sent prisoner to the Inquisition at Lisbon, where she arrived the 19th of December, 1705. The secretary of the house took her effects, in all above £500; she was then sworn, that that was all she was worth, and then put into a straight dark room, about five feet square, and there kept nine months and fifteen days.

That the first nine days she had only bread and water, and a wet straw bed to lie on. On the ninth day, being examined, she owned herself a Protestant, and would so continue; she was told she had conformed to the Romish church, and must persist in it or burn, she was then remanded to her room; and after a month's time brought out again, and persisting in her answer as to her religion, they bound her hands behind her, stripped her stark naked, and lashed her with a whip of knotted cords a considerable time, and told her afterwards that she must kneel down to the court, and give thanks for their merciful usage of her, which she positively refused to do.

After fifteen days she was again brought forth and examined, and a crucifix being set before her, she was commanded to bow down to it and worship it, which she refusing to do, they told her that she must expect to be condemned to the flames, and be burned with the Jews, at the next *auto de fé*, which was nigh at hand. Upon this she was remanded to her prison again for thirty days, and being then brought out, a red hot iron was got ready, and brought to her in a chafing-dish of burning coals, and her breast being laid open, the executioner, with one end of the red hot iron, which



was about the bigness of a large seal, burned her to the bone in three several places, on the right side, one hard by the other, and then sent her to her prison, without any plaster, or other application, to heal the sores, which were very painful to her.

A month after this she had another severe whipping, as before; and in the beginning of August she was brought before the table, a great number of inquisitors being present, and was questioned, whether she would profess the Romish religion or burn. She replied, she had always been a Protestant, and was a subject of the queen of England, who was able to protect her, and she doubted not would do it, were her condition known to the English residing in Lisbon; but as she knew nothing of that, her resolution was to continue a Protestant, though she were to burn for it. To this they answered that her being the queen of England's subject signified nothing in the dominions of the king of Portugal; that the English residing in Lisbon were heretics, and would certainly be damned; and that it was the mercy of that tribunal to endeavour to rescue her out of the flames of hell, but if her resolution were to burn rather than profess the Romish religion, they would give her a trial of it beforehand.

Accordingly the officers were ordered to seat her in a fixed chair, and to bind her arms and her legs, that she could make no resistance, nor motion, and the physician being placed by her, to direct the court how far they might torture her without hazard of life, her left foot was made bare, and an iron slipper, red hot, being immediately brought in, her foot was fastened into it, which continued on burning her to the bone, till such time as by extremity of pain she fainted away, and the physician declaring her life was in danger, they took it off, and ordered her again to her prison.

On the 19th of August she was again brought out, and whipped after a cruel manner, and her back was all over torn, and being threatened with more and greater tortures, and, on the other hand, being promised to be set at liberty if she would subscribe such a paper as they should give her, though she could have undergone death, yet not being able to endure a life of so much misery, she consented to subscribe, as they would have her, and accordingly, as she was directed wrote at the bottom of a large paper, which contained she knew not what; after which they advised her to avoid the company of all English heretics, and not restoring to her anything of all the plate, goods, or money she brought in with her, and engaging her by oath to keep secret all that had been done to her, turned her out of doors, destitute of all relief, but what she received from the help and compassion of charitable Christians.

The above said Elizabeth Vasconcellos did solemnly affirm and declare the above written deposition to be true, the day and year above written.

JOHN MILNER,  
JOSEPH WILLCOCKS.

Lisbon, January 8th, 1707, N.S.

(A copy examined from the original, by J. BLISSE.)<sup>b</sup>

#### INQUISITORIAL DOCUMENTS

That the above affidavit is not a mere party document is only too plainly proved by the very manual of procedure, the Cartilla of the Inquisition at Seville, which W. H. Rule<sup>v</sup> has translated. It was meant for the guidance

of all the Spanish inquisitors, and its business-like calm is not its least horrible feature, as is this insistence upon a full report of the torture and its results:<sup>a</sup>

*How the Record was Kept*

"If the criminal is under age, the guardian must be present at pronouncing sentence, in order that he may appeal if he wishes; but he must not be present at the torture.

"All that the criminal says has to be set down, and the questions that were put to him, and his answers, without omitting anything, and how they ordered him to be stripped, and his arms to be bound, and the rounds of cord that are put on him, and how they ordered him to be placed on a rack, and to bind his legs, head, and arms, and how he was bound, and how they ordered the garrotes to be put on, and how they were put on, and how compressed, declaring if it was on leg, thigh, or shin, or arms, etc., and what was said to him at each of these operations.

"If the torture is of pulley, it must be entered how the irons were put; and the weight or weights, and how he was hoisted, and how many times, and how long he was up each time. If it is of rack, it shall be said how the *toca*<sup>1</sup> was put on him, and how many pitchers of water were thrown over him, and how much each contained."<sup>y</sup>

*The Proper Form of Torture for Women*

Even more ghastly is the blank form for convenience in recording the various steps. The following from the same manual, as translated by Rule,<sup>y</sup> corroborates the testimony of Elizabeth Vasconcellos quoted above, inasmuch as it prescribes the gentler forms of discipline to be used when the errant one was a woman. There is something peculiarly terrible in the very omission of a special name and the consequent thought of the number of wretches whose vain words and torments were thus recorded.<sup>a</sup>

"She was told to tell the truth, or orders would be given to strip her. She said, etc. She was commanded to be stripped naked.

"She was told to tell the truth, or orders would be given to cut off her hair. She said, etc.

"Orders were given to cut off her hair; and when it was taken off, she was examined by the doctor and surgeon, who said there was not any objection to her being put to the torture.

"She was told to tell the truth, or she would be commanded to mount the rack. She said, etc.

"She was commanded to mount, and she said, etc.

"She was told to tell the truth, or her body should be bound. She said, etc. She was ordered to be bound.

"She was told to tell the truth, or, if not, they would order her right foot to be made fast for the *trampazo*.<sup>2</sup> She said, etc. They commanded it to be made fast.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would command her left foot to be made fast for the *trampazo*. She said, etc. They commanded it to be made fast. She said, etc. It was ordered to be done.

[<sup>1</sup> In the *tormento de toca*, a gauze bag was placed in the throat and water poured in it, forcing the gauze gradually down the cesophagus into the stomach. Other torments were the gradual pouring of water drop by drop on one spot of the body, and the great swinging pendulum, or *pendola*, with the knife affixed, as described in Poe's haunting story.]

[<sup>2</sup> The *trampazo* was an iron shoe heated red hot and clamped to the bare foot.]

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the binding of the right arm to be stretched. She said, etc. It was commanded to be done. And the same with the left arm. It was ordered to be executed.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the fleshy part of her right arm to be made fast for the garrote. She said, etc. It was ordered to be made fast.

"And by the said lord inquisitor it was repeated to her many times that she should tell the truth, and not let herself be brought into so great torment; and the physician and surgeon were called in, who said, etc. And the criminal, etc. And orders were given to make it fast.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the first turn of mancuenda. She said, etc. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would command the garrote to be applied again to the right arm. She said, etc. It was ordered to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the second turn of mancuenda. She said, etc. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the garrote to be applied again to the left arm. She said, etc. It was ordered to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the third turn of mancuenda. She said, etc. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the trampazo to be laid on the right foot. She said, etc. It was commanded to be done.

"For women you do not go beyond this." y

#### LATER HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN

It would be gratuitously harrowing to multiply such instances of human misery, and we may return to the chronicle of the progress of the Inquisition, leading up to its culmination in Spain and Portugal, instances of whose severity have already been quoted. It is a pitiful chronicle, and one that the humanitarian might well wish to pass over in silence; but one which the historian cannot altogether ignore.

What at first was intended as a weapon against deviations from the religious creeds came ultimately, Schaff<sup>2</sup> points out, to apply also to such alien matters as "usury, sorcery, contempt of the cross and clergy, dealings with Jews, etc." Naturally enough the less fanatical portion of many communities attempted to shake off the fetters of the Inquisition. In Albi and Narbonne in 1234, and in Toulouse at about the same period, there were uprisings, and possibly it was not by accident that the Inquisition should have been first abolished in France, the country where it had first found a foothold.<sup>1</sup> In Bavaria the Jesuits restored the Inquisition in some measure during the Thirty Years' War, but it was abolished by Maria Theresa throughout her kingdoms. Outside of Spain and Portugal the Netherlands became the seat of its most prolonged activities.<sup>a</sup>

The tribunal, after having been successively adopted in Italy and Germany, was introduced into Aragon, where, in 1242, additional provisions were framed by the Council of Tarragona, on the basis of those of 1233, which may properly be considered as the primitive instructions of the Holy Office in Spain.

[<sup>1</sup> Philip the Fair in the course of his war with Pope Boniface VIII condemned the Inquisition, though he burned the Templars; or as Dean Kitchin puts it, the Inquisition "was effectively used by Philip the Fair to crush the Templars, though that greedy prince quickly interfered when he found the Inquisition laying hands on his special preserves, the wealthy Jews." See the Papacy.]

ancient" Inquisition, as it is termed, bore the same odious peculiar leading features as the modern; the same impenetrable secrecy of proceedings, the same insidious modes of accusation, a similar use of similar penalties for the offender. A sort of manual, drawn up by an Aragonese inquisitor of the fourteenth century, for the use of the judges of the Holy Office, prescribes all those ambiguous interrogations by which the unwary and perhaps innocent victim is circumvented. The arm of persecution, however, fell with sufficient force, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the unfortunate Albigenes, who, from the proximity and political connection of Aragon and Provence, had become numerous in the former. The persecution appears, however, to have been chiefly confined to the unfortunate sect, and there is no evidence that the Holy Office, by issuing papal briefs to that effect, was fully organised in Castile during the reign of Isabella. This is perhaps imputable to the paucity of heretics in that kingdom. It cannot, at any rate, be charged to any lukewarmness of its sovereigns; since they, from the time of St. Ferdinand, who burnt the heretics on the blazing pile with his own hands, down to that of Isabella's father, who hunted the unhappy heretics of Biscay like wild beasts among the mountains, had ever evinced a lively zeal for the orthodox faith.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Albigenian heresy had been completely suppressed by the Inquisition of Aragon; so that this infernal engine had long been suffered to sleep undisturbed from want of sufficient fuel to keep it in motion, when new and ample materials were discovered in the race of Israel, on whom the sins of their fathers have been so often visited by every nation in Christendom among whom they have almost to the present century.

When the Visigothic empire the Jews multiplied exceedingly in Spain, they were permitted to acquire considerable power and wealth. But no sooner did their Arian masters embrace the orthodox faith than they began to exert their zeal by pouring on the Jews the most pitiless storm of persecution. Their laws alone condemned the whole race to slavery; and in the remarks, without much exaggeration, that to the Gothic code belonged all the maxims of the Modern Inquisition, the monks of the sixteenth century only copying, in reference to the Israelites, the bishops of the present.

#### *State of the Jews in Spain*

After the Saracenic invasion, which the Jews, perhaps with reason, are said to have facilitated, they resided in the conquered cities and were permitted to mingle with the Arabs on nearly equal terms. The Jews, under these favourable auspices, not only accumulated wealth and power, but, with unusual diligence, but gradually rose to the highest civil dignities, and made great advances in various departments of letters.

The ancient Castilians of the same period, very different from their successors, seem to have conceded to the Israelites somewhat of the respect which was extorted from them by the superior civilisation of the Arabians. We find eminent Jews residing in the courts of the princes, directing their studies, attending them as physicians, or actually administering their finances. For this last vocation they were well adapted; and, indeed, the correspondence which was maintained with the different countries of Europe by means of their own

countrymen, who acted as the brokers of almost every people among whom they were scattered during the Middle Ages, afforded them peculiar facilities both in politics and commerce. We meet with Jewish scholars and statesmen attached to the courts of Alfonso X, Alfonso XI, Pedro the Cruel, Henry (Enrique) II, and other princes. Their astronomical science recom-

mended them in a special manner to Alfonso el Sabio, who employed them in the construction of his celebrated tables. James I of Aragon condescended to receive instruction from them in ethics; and in the fifteenth century we notice Juan (John) II of Castile employing a Jewish secretary in the compilation of a national *Cancionero*.



A JEW OF THE MIDDLE AGES

But all this royal patronage proved incompetent to protect the Jews when their flourishing fortunes had risen to a sufficient height to excite popular envy, augmented as it was by that profuse ostentation of equipage and apparel for which this singular people, notwithstanding their avarice, have usually shown a predilection. Stories were circulated of their contempt for the Catholic worship, their desecration of its most holy symbols, and of their crucifixion, or other sacrifice, of Christian children at the celebration of their own passover. With these foolish calumnies, the more probable charge of usury and extortion was industriously preferred against them; till at length, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the fanatical populace, stimulated in many instances by the no less fanatical clergy, and perhaps encouraged by the numerous class of debtors to the Jews, who found this a convenient mode of settling their accounts, made a fierce assault on this

unfortunate people in Castile and Aragon, breaking into their houses, violating their most private sanctuaries, scattering their costly collections and furniture, and consigning the wretched proprietors to indiscriminate massacre, without regard to sex or age.

#### *"Conversion" of the Jews*

In this crisis the only remedy left to the Jews was a real or feigned conversion to Christianity. St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia, performed such a quantity of miracles, in furtherance of this purpose, as might have excited the envy of any saint in the calendar; and these, aided by his eloquence, are said to have changed the hearts of no less than thirty-five thousand of the race of Israel, which doubtless must be reckoned the greatest miracle of all.

The legislative enactments of this period, and still more under Juan II during the first half of the fifteenth century, were uncommonly severe upon the Jews. While they were prohibited from mingling freely with the Christians, and from exercising the professions for which they were best qualified, their residence was restricted within certain prescribed limits of the cities

which they inhabited ; and they were not only debarred from their usual luxury of ornament in dress, but were held up to public scorn, as it were, by some peculiar badge or emblem embroidered on their garments.

Such was the condition of the Spanish Jews at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella. The "new Christians," or "converts," as those who had renounced the faith of their fathers were denominated, were occasionally preferred to high ecclesiastical dignities, which they illustrated by their integrity and learning. They were intrusted with municipal offices in the various cities of Castile ; and as their wealth furnished an obvious resource for repairing, by way of marriage, the decayed fortunes of the nobility, there was scarcely a family of rank in the land whose blood had not been contaminated, at some period or other, by mixture with the *mala sangre*, as it came afterwards to be termed, of the house of Judah ; an ignominious stain, which no time has been deemed sufficient wholly to purge away.

Notwithstanding the show of prosperity enjoyed by the converted Jews, their situation was far from secure. Their proselytism had been too sudden to be generally sincere ; and as the task of dissimulation was too irksome to be permanently endured, they gradually became less circumspect, and exhibited the scandalous spectacle of apostates returning to wallow in the ancient mire of Judaism. The clergy, especially the Dominicans, who seem to have inherited the quick scent for heresy which distinguished their frantic founder, were not slow in sounding the alarm ; and the superstitious populace, easily roused to acts of violence in the name of religion, began to exhibit the most tumultuous movements, and actually massacred the constable of Castile in an attempt to suppress them at Jaen, the year preceding the accession of Isabella. After this period the complaints against the Jewish heresy became still more clamorous, and the throne was repeatedly beset with petitions to devise some effectual means for its extirpation (1478).

It is easy to discern, in the medley of credulity and superstition, the secret envy entertained by the Castilians of the superior skill and industry of their Hebrew brethren, and of the superior riches which these qualities secured to them ; and it is impossible not to suspect that the zeal of the most orthodox was considerably sharpened by worldly motives.

Be that as it may, the cry against the Jewish abominations now became general. Among those most active in raising it were Alfonso de Ojeda, a Dominican, prior of the monastery of St. Paul in Seville, and Diego de Merlo, assistant of that city, who should not be defrauded of the meed of glory to which they are justly entitled by their exertions for the new establishment of the Modern Inquisition. These persons, after urging on the sovereigns the alarming extent to which the Jewish leprosy prevailed in Andalusia, loudly called for the introduction of the Holy Office, as the only effectual means of healing it. In this they were vigorously supported by Niccolo Franco, the papal nuncio then residing at the court of Castile. Ferdinand listened with complacency to a scheme which promised an ample source of revenue in the confiscations it involved. But it was not so easy to vanquish Isabella's aversion to such repugnant measures.

#### *Queen Isabella persuaded to Persecution*

Well had it been for the land if the queen's conscience had always been intrusted to the keeping of persons of such exemplary piety as her confessor, Talavera. Unfortunately, in her early days, during the lifetime of her brother Henry, that charge was committed to a Dominican monk, Thomas



(Tomas) de Torquemada, a native of Old Castile, subsequently raised to the rank of prior of Santa Cruz in Segovia, and condemned to infamous immortality by the signal part which he performed in the tragedy of the Inquisition. This man, who concealed more pride under his monastic weeds than might have furnished forth a convent of his order, was one of that class with whom zeal passes for religion, and who testify their zeal by a fiery persecution of those whose creed differs from their own; who compensate for their abstinence from sensual indulgence by giving scope to those deadlier vices of the heart, pride, bigotry, and intolerance, which are no less opposed to virtue and are far more extensively mischievous to society. This personage had earnestly laboured to infuse into Isabella's young mind, to which his situation as her confessor gave him such ready access, the same spirit of fanaticism that glowed in his own. Fortunately this was greatly counteracted by her sound understanding and natural kindness of heart. Torquemada urged her, or indeed, as is stated by some, extorted a promise that, "should she ever come to the throne, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith." The time was now arrived when this promise was to be discharged.

It is due to Isabella's fame to state thus much in palliation of the unfortunate error into which she was led by her misguided zeal; an error so grave that, like a vein in some noble piece of statuary, it gives a sinister expression to her otherwise unblemished character. It was not until the queen had endured the repeated importunities of the clergy, particularly of those reverend persons in whom she most confided, seconded by the arguments of Ferdinand, that she consented to solicit from the pope a bull for the introduction of the Holy Office into Castile. Sixtus IV, who at that time filled the pontifical chair, easily discerning the sources of wealth and influence which this measure opened to the court of Rome, readily complied with the petition of the sovereigns, and expedited a bull bearing date November 1st, 1478, authorising them to appoint two or three ecclesiastics, inquisitors for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions.

The queen, however, still averse to violent measures, suspended the operation of the ordinance, until a more lenient policy had been first tried. By her command, accordingly, the archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Mendoza, drew up a catechism exhibiting the different points of the Catholic faith, and instructed the clergy throughout his diocese to spare no pains in illuminating the benighted Israelites, by means of friendly exhortation and a candid exposition of the true principles of Christianity. How far the spirit of these injunctions was complied with, amid the excitement then prevailing, may be reasonably doubted. There could be little doubt, however, that a report, made two years later by a commission of ecclesiastics with Alfonso de Ojeda at its head, respecting the progress of the reformation, would be necessarily unfavourable to the Jews.

In consequence of this report the papal provisions were enforced by the nomination, on the 17th of September, 1480, of two Dominican monks as inquisitors, with two other ecclesiastics, the one as assessor and the other as procurator-fiscal, with instructions to proceed at once to Seville and enter on the duties of their office. Orders were also issued to the authorities of the city to support the inquisitors by all the aid in their power. But the new institution proved so distasteful to them in its origin that they refused any co-operation with its ministers, and during the first years it can scarcely be said to have obtained a footing in any other places in Andalusia than those belonging to the crown.

*The Inquisition of 1481*

d of January, 1481, the court commenced operations by the an edict, followed by several others, requiring all persons to ending and accusing all such as they might know or suspect f heresy, and holding out the illusory promise of absolution to confess their errors within a limited period. As every mode even anonymous, was invited, the number of victims multiplied the tribunal found it convenient to remove its sittings from the Paul, within the city, to the spacious fortress of Triana, in

ptive proofs by which the charge of Judaism was established used are so curious that a few of them may deserve notice. It l good evidence of the fact, if the prisoner wore better clothes n on the Jewish Sabbath than on other days of the week; if he his house the preceding evening; if he sat at table with Jews, t of animals slaughtered by their hands, or drank a certain bev- much estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, r turned his face to the wall; or, finally, if he gave Hebrew hildren—a provision most whimsically cruelly, since, by a law he was prohibited under severe penalties from giving them es. He must have found it difficult to extricate himself from this dilemma.

th day of January six convicts suffered at the stake. Seven- e executed in March, and a still greater number in the month fol- y the 4th of November in the same year no less than 298 indi- ven sacrificed in the *autos da fé* of Seville. Besides these, the mains of many, who had been tried and convicted, after their rn up from their graves, with a hyena-like ferocity which has other court, Christian or pagan, and condemned to the common This was prepared on a spacious stone scaffold, erected in the city, with the statues of four prophets attached to the cor- n the unhappy sufferers were bound for the sacrifice. This fanaticism continued to disgrace Seville till 1810, when it was der to make room for the construction of a battery against the sword of justice was observed, in particular, to strike at the east pardonable offenders in times of proscription.

e which desolated Seville this year, sweeping off fifteen thou- ts, as if in token of the wrath of heaven at these enormities, for a moment the arm of the Inquisition, which, adjourning to inued as indefatigable as before. A similar persecution went er parts of the province of Andalusia; so that within the same ne number of the sufferers was computed at two thousand a still greater number in effigy, and seventeen thousand a term which must not be understood by the reader to signify a pardon or amnesty, but only the commutation of a capital rferior penalties, as fines, civil incapacity, very generally total property, and not infrequently imprisonment for life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> b diffuses the two thousand capital executions over several years. He sums up ties of the Holy Office in the following gentle terms: "The church, who is the nd the fountain of charity, content with the imposition of penances, generously any who do not deserve it; while those who persist obstinately in their errors, soned on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, she causes to be put to the

The Jews were astounded by the bolt which had fallen so unexpectedly upon them. Some succeeded in making their escape to Granada, others to France, Germany, or Italy, where they appealed from the decisions of the Holy Office to the sovereign pontiff.<sup>1</sup> Sixtus IV appears for a moment to have been touched with something like compunction, for he rebuked the intemperate zeal of the inquisitors, and even menaced them with deprivation. But these feelings, it would seem, were but transient; for in 1483 we find the same pontiff quieting the scruples of Isabella respecting the appropriation of the confiscated property, and encouraging both sovereigns to proceed in the great work of purification by an audacious reference to the example of Jesus Christ, who, says he, consolidated his kingdom on earth by the destruction of idolatry.

*The Spanish or "Modern" Inquisition established*

In the course of the same year he expedited two briefs, appointing Thomas de Torquemada inquisitor-general of Castile and Aragon, and clothing him with full powers to frame a new constitution for the Holy Office (August 2nd and October 17th, 1483). This was the origin of that terrible tribunal, the Spanish or Modern Inquisition, familiar to most readers whether of history or romance, which for three centuries extended its iron sway over the dominions of Spain and Portugal.

Edicts were ordered to be published annually, on the first two Sundays in Lent, throughout the churches, enjoining it as a sacred duty on all who knew or suspected another to be guilty of heresy to lodge information against him before the Holy Office; and the ministers of religion were instructed to refuse absolution to such as hesitated to comply with this, although the suspected person might stand in the relation of parent, child, husband, or wife. All accusations, anonymous as well as signed, were admitted; it being only necessary to specify the names of the witnesses, whose testimony was taken down in writing by a secretary, and afterwards read to them, which, unless the inaccuracies were so gross as to force themselves upon their attention, they seldom failed to confirm.

Not the least odious feature of the whole was the connection established between the condemnation of the accused and the interests of his judges; since the confiscations, which were the uniform penalties of heresy, were not permitted to flow into the royal exchequer until they had first discharged the expenses, whether in the shape of salaries or otherwise, incident to the Holy Office. The most humane provisions were constantly evaded in practice; and the toils for ensnaring the victim were so ingeniously multiplied that few, very few, were permitted to escape without some censure. Not more than one person, says Llorente, in one or perhaps two thousand processes, previous to the time of Philip III, received entire absolution. So that it came to be proverbial that all who were not roasted were at least singed :

*"Devant l'Inquisition, quand on vient à jûbé,  
Si l'on ne sort rôti, l'on sort au moins flambé."*

torture, and condemned to the flames. Some miserably perish, bewailing their errors, and invoking the name of Christ, while others call upon that of Moses. Many, again, who sincerely repent, notwithstanding the heinousness of their transgressions, merely sentences to perpetual imprisonment."

<sup>1</sup> Bernaldez<sup>cc</sup> states that guards were posted at the gates of the city of Seville in order to prevent the emigration of the Jewish inhabitants, which indeed was forbidden under pain of death. The tribunal, however, had greater terrors for them, and many succeeded in effecting their escape.

*The "Auto da fé"*

The last scene in this dismal tragedy was the "act of faith" (*auto da fé*),<sup>1</sup> the most imposing spectacle, probably, which has been witnessed since the ancient Roman triumph, and which, as intimated by a Spanish writer, was intended, somewhat profanely, to represent the terrors of the Day of Judgment. The prominent grandees of the land, on this occasion, putting on the robe livery of banners of the Holy Office and bearing aloft its banners, condescended to a part in the escort of its ministers; while the ceremony was first officially commended by the royal presence. It should be stated, however, that neither of these acts of condescension—or, more properly, flattery—were witnessed until a period posterior to Isabella's reign. The effect was further heightened by the concourse of ecclesiastics in their vestments, and pomp, and ceremonial which was intended to consecrate, as it were, the bloody sacrifice by the authority of a religion which has expressly declared that it demands mercy and not sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

There were important actors in the scene were the unfortunate convicts, who were brought for the first time from the dungeons of the tribunal. These were clad in new woollen garments, styled *san benitos*, brought close around the neck and descending like a cloak down to the knees. These were of heavy, deep, emerald-colored with a scarlet cross, and well garnished with tapers of devil and flames of fire, which, typical of the heretic's destiny hereafter, served to make him more obnoxious in the eyes of the superstitious multitude.<sup>3</sup> The greater part of the sufferers were condemned to be "relaxed," the manifold meanings of which soft phrase have been already explained. Those who were to be "relaxed," as it was called, were delivered over, as unrepentant heretics, to the secular arm, in order to expiate their offense by the most painful of deaths, with the consciousness, still more painful, that they were to leave behind them names branded with infamy, and families involved in irretrievable ruin.<sup>4</sup>

It is remarkable that a system so monstrous as that of the Inquisition, regarded as the most effectual barrier, probably, that was ever opposed to the progress of knowledge, should have been revived at the close of the fifteenth century, when the light of civilization was rapidly advancing over every part of Europe. It is more remarkable that it should have occurred in Spain, at that time under a government which had displayed great religious independ-

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish form is *auto de fe*, but the Portuguese form—*auto da fé*, was the first to prevail in our language.

<sup>2</sup> The same thing occurred. The inquisitors after the celebration of an *auto da fé* at Gundaloupe, in 1481, wishing to justify these bloody excesses in the eyes of the people, who had just seen the Virgin's statue, which, according to a legend, had descended from the Virgin (whose shrine in that place was still called the *Virgen de la Fuente*), petitioned the Holy Office. Their petition was answered by a bull, in which it was declared that Dr. Francis Sanctus de la Fuente, who acted as confessor to the Virgin, had confessed that he had, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair.

<sup>3</sup> The same thing occurred. The inquisitors after the celebration of an *auto da fé* at Gundaloupe, in 1481, wishing to justify these bloody excesses in the eyes of the people, who had just seen the Virgin's statue, which, according to a legend, had descended from the Virgin (whose shrine in that place was still called the *Virgen de la Fuente*), petitioned the Holy Office. Their petition was answered by a bull, in which it was declared that Dr. Francis Sanctus de la Fuente, who acted as confessor to the Virgin, had confessed that he had, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair, and, after recording sixty, gave up in despair.

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out of a pretended regard to the infirmities of his age, to share with him the burdens of his office.

This personage, who is entitled to so high a rank among those who have been the authors of unmix'd evil to their species, was permitted to reach a very old age, and to die quietly in his bed. Yet he lived under a constant apprehension of assassination that he is said to have kept a reported assassin's horn always on his table, which was imagined to have the power of detecting and neutralising poisons; while, for the more complete protection of his person, he was allowed an escort of fifty horse and two hundred foot in his progress through the kingdom.

This man's zeal was of such an extravagant character that it may almost shelter itself under the name of insanity. His history may be thought to prove that of all human infirmities, or rather vices, there is none productive of more extensive mischief to society than fanaticism. The opposite principle of atheism, which refuses to recognise the most important sanctions to virtue, does not necessarily imply any denutation of just moral perceptions, that is, of a power of discriminating between right and wrong, in its discipline. But fanaticism is so far subversive of the most established principles of morality, that, under the dangerous maxim, "For the advancement of the faith, all means are lawful," which Tasso has rightly, though perhaps undesignedly, derived from the spirits of hell, it not only excuses, but enjoins the commission of the most revolting crimes as a sacred duty. The more repugnant, indeed, such crimes may be to natural feeling or public sentiment, the greater their merit, from the sacrifice which the commission of them involves. Many a bloody page of history attests the fact that fanaticism armed with power is the sorest evil which can befall a nation.<sup>28</sup>

Under Charles I (the emperor Charles V) the cortes sought for a modification of the laws of the Inquisition; but under Philip II the flames burned brightly again, at first in Seville and Valladolid (*ibid. sup.*). But by the end of the seventeenth century all vestiges of the Reformation were effaced, and the activity of the Inquisition became limited to the destruction of prohibited books, of which an Index had been prepared in 1568. Under Charles III, in 1770, an edict was passed, securing an accused party from arbitrary imprisonment; and other regulations were passed, curtailing the powers of the Inquisition, until, in 1808, Joseph Bonaparte abolished it entirely. In 1814 Ferdinand VII restored it; but the popular rage in 1820 destroyed the inquisitor's palace at Madrid, and the cortes again abolished it. But in 1823, by the efforts of the clergy, another inquisitorial commission was appointed. It continued till 1834, when it was finally abolished, and its property applied to the payment of the public debt. But it may be a long while before the country will revive from the effects of the court which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extinguished her active literary life and placed this nation, so richly endowed, almost outside of the circle of European civilisation. Spain, it is true, remained free from heresies and religious wars; but her rest was the rest of the grave, so far as religious vitality was concerned.

The fortunes of the Inquisition in Portugal were similar to those which it had in Spain. In the reign of John VI (1818-1826) it was finally abolished. The last relics of the Italian Inquisition disappeared at the unification of the nation. The Congregation of the Inquisition at Rome, appointed by Sixtus V in 1587, is all that remains of it. In its day it likewise had crushed out the Reformation, and had raged the most fearfully in Venice; but there its activity seems to have ceased in 1781, and in 1808 Napoleon abolished it. Restored under Pius VII in 1814, it directed its energies to prevent the

diffusion of the Italian Bible, and to check the introduction of evangelical truth.

In the Netherlands, where the Inquisition was first introduced in the thirteenth century, it became a terrible weapon in the time of the Reformation. In 1521, Charles V passed a rigorous edict against heretics, and appointed Franz van der Hulst inquisitor-general. In 1525 three inquisitors-general were appointed, in 1537 the number was increased to four, and in 1545 one was appointed for each of the provinces. According to Grotius, a hundred thousand victims died under Charles V; according to the prince of Orange, fifty thousand. Both computations are probably too large. Under Philip II the inquisitors developed the most zeal; and the duke of Alva, in 1567, appointed the Bloody Council, which proceeded with unheard-of cruelty against those whose wealth excited their avarice, or whose heresy aroused their suspicion. In 1573 Alva was recalled; and three years later the provinces concluded the League of Ghent, whose fifth article abolished the edicts against heresy.<sup>z</sup>

Torture lasted as late as 1817 in Spain, where Van Halen suffered it, notwithstanding the papal bull of 1816; and, according to Mackenna,<sup>t</sup> it lasted in Spanish America until 1809.

In conclusion it is possible to present a fairly accurate total of the ruinous sweep of the Inquisition. The historian Llorente<sup>k</sup> accomplished the seemingly impossible task of unearthing the records. He was a Spanish priest, and from 1785 was an officer of the Inquisition in its then milder form. In 1808 he became a Bonapartist, and was concerned in the suppression of monastic orders. The archives were at his disposal, and he studied them thoroughly. He fled to France on the Restoration in 1814, and there brought out his monumental work in French. His life was not safe even there, and he suffered much persecution. His work has been convicted of many faults, but not of dishonesty, and his conclusions may be quoted with a reasonable amount of confidence.<sup>a</sup>

#### *Llorente's Computation of the Victims of the Inquisition*

In summing up, it appears that the Spanish Inquisition, during the first eighteen years of its existence under Torquemada, condemned 8,800 persons to perish in the flames, 6,500, dead or fugitives, to be burned in effigy; and imposed different pains and penalties upon 90,004 who were reconciled; making a total of 105,294 victims. I propose to take each tribunal separately and to place the number of victims as low as circumstances will permit.

Were I guided by the *autos da fé* of the Inquisition of Toledo and Saragossa I might triple the number of victims, for in eight years alone 6,341 were punished by the inquisitors of Seville, which is at the rate of 792 a year, not including the many victims of other *autos da fé* which I have found mentioned, but of which I cannot find the reports. Saragossa shows almost similar results, and if the same is assumed of the other tribunals the total would be twice as much again as by my reckoning. But I do not wish to give anyone grounds for saying that I have tried to exaggerate the evil.

The second general inquisitor was Diego Deza, a Dominican, tutor to the prince of Asturias, Don Juan, bishop of Zamora, Salamanca, Jaen, Palencia, and finally archbishop of Seville. He held the office from the beginning of 1499 to the end of 1506, when he resigned it by order of king Ferdinand V, regent of Castile. In his time there were the same twelve tribunals in the peninsula as in the time of his predecessor; therefore I



reckon only 208 burned, 104 burned in effigy, and 4,057 subjected to penances, making a total of 4,369 victims a year. This number, multiplied by eight makes the number of victims in his time, 1,664 of the first class, 832 of the second class, and 32,456 of the third class; a total of 34,952 victims.

The third general inquisitor was the cardinal-archbishop Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, a Franciscan. He held the office from the year 1507 until the 8th of November, 1517, when he died. During that time there was a separate office of general inquisitor of Aragon which was first held by Juan Enguera, a Dominican, bishop of Vique. He died in 1513 and was succeeded by Luis Mercader, a Carthusian, who upon his death on the 1st of June, 1516, was succeeded by Cardinal Adriano de Florencio, then dean of Lobania, tutor of Charles V, afterwards bishop of Tortosa, and ultimately sovereign pontiff (Adrian VI). In 1513 Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros created a tribunal of the Inquisition for the bishopric of Cuenca and its districts, separating them from the jurisdiction of Murcia in 1516; another for the fortress of Oran in Africa, and another for America in the island of Cuba. We will leave the two last out of our calculations, as well as those of Callar in the island of Sardinia, and of Palermo in Sicily.

The twelve former tribunals of the peninsula produced, according to the inscription in Seville, with the modification adopted, 208 burned, 104 burned in effigy, 4,057 subjected to penances, a year, making from the year, 1507 to 1513 inclusive a total of 1,456 of the first class, 728 of the second class, and 28,399 of the third class.

The tribunal of Cuenca was established in 1514, and according to my method of computation I assign to it 200 of the first class, 200 of the second, and 1,700 of the third, which added to the 208, 104, and 4,057 of the other twelve tribunals gives a total for that year of 408, 304, and 5,757. In 1515, the tribunal of Cuenca is counted as one of the old tribunals, with only 16 of the first class, 8 of the second, and 312 of the third, which added to the total of the other tribunals amounts to 224, 112, and 4,369. In 1516 and 1517, the result is similar. The total of the eleven years during which Ximenes de Cisneros was general inquisitor is 2,536 burned, 1,368 burned in effigy, and 47,263 penitents, 51,167 in all.

Cardinal Adriano, bishop of Tortosa, was the fourth general inquisitor. He was appointed at the beginning of March, 1518, and though he was elected pope on the 9th of January, 1522, he had no successor as head of the Holy Office until the end of 1522; for Adriano issued the bulls on the 10th of September of that year, fourteen days before his death. For this reason the number of tribunals in the peninsula was not increased for six years, but in America one was established at Puerto Rico for the West Indies in 1519.

According to the inscription in the castle of Triana, in the thirteen tribunals of our continent there were every year 224 persons burned, 112 burned in effigy, and 4,369 subjected to penances; consequently the total for the six years was 1,344 of the first class, 672 of the second class, and 26,214 of the third class; 28,230 victims in all.

The fifth general inquisitor was Cardinal Alfonso Manrique, successively bishop of Badajoz and of Cordova, and archbishop of Seville. In 1524, he ordered the inscription which has guided our calculations for the preceding years to be placed in the castle of Triana in Seville. In this same year the tribunal of Granada, which had been established the year before, began to exercise its functions. Although the number of those punished as Judaical heretics was diminished, there was no lack of victims, their places being sup-

plied by the Mohammedan Moriscoes, Lutherans, and Sodomites, whose punishment, and that of other criminals, was confided to the inquisitors by Pope Clement VII. Manrique died on the 28th of September, 1538, having established tribunals of the Inquisition in Canaria, Jaen, and Granada, and two in America for Tierrafirme (Terra Firma) and the West Indies. It is calculated that the yearly victims would be about 10 burned, 5 burned in effigy, and 50 subjected to penances, a total of 65 victims. There were thirteen tribunals in the peninsula, two in the adjacent islands, and multiplying by the fifteen years of Manrique's ministry there were 2,250 of the first class, 1,125 of the second class, and 11,250 of the third class, a total of 14,625 victims.

[Llorente continues thus his record from inquisitor to inquisitor through the centuries. We shall omit these till we reach the last years of the Holy Office.]

Fortieth, Felipe Beltran, bishop of Salamanca, was general inquisitor after Quintano, in 1774. He exercised this function until he died, which appears to me to have been about 1783. In his time there were 2 burned, none burned in effigy, 16 condemned to public penances, and very many in secret without infamy or confiscation. My departure from Madrid for Valencia on the 10th of August, 1812, since which I never returned to court, prevented me from completing this catalogue with the exact dates, but the substance of my narrative is most exact. The last victim who perished in the flames was a *beata* of Seville, on the 7th of November, 1781. She was condemned for having a compact and illicit personal intercourse with the devil, and for impenitent denial of the offence, according to the trial. Her life would have been spared had she pleaded guilty to the crimes of which she was accused.

Forty-first, Augustin Rubin de Cevallos, bishop of Jaen, knight of the grand cross of the royal Spanish order of Charles III. He immediately succeeded Beltran and was general inquisitor from 1784 until 1792, when he died. No one was burned in person nor in effigy in his time; 14 were condemned to public penances, and many in secret but without infamy or confiscation. Forty-second, Manuel Abad-y-la-Sierra, bishop of Astorga, archbishop of Selimbra and general inquisitor, appointed in 1792. He resigned in 1794 by order of Charles IV. In his time 16 were condemned to public and many to private penances; no one was burned. Forty-third, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, was appointed general inquisitor in 1794, and resigned by order of Charles IV in 1797. In his time 14 were condemned to public and many to private penances; no one was burned.

Forty-fourth, Ramon Josef de Arce, archbishop of Burgos and of Saragossa, patriarch of the Indies, councillor of state, general director of the Royal University of Madrid, and knight of the grand cross of the royal order of Charles III. He was general inquisitor from 1798 to 1808. In his time 20 were condemned to public and many to private penances, without infamy or confiscation of goods. One effigy was burned at Cuenca, but no one was burned in person, for though sentence was pronounced against the curate of Escoc, the general inquisitor and supreme council refused to confirm it, in order to prevent its execution. Recapitulation: burned in person, 31,912; burned in effigy, 17,659; condemned to severe penances, 291,450; total, 341,021.

My design is to calculate the number of victims at the lowest figure possible, and I am convinced that from the year 1481, when the tribunal was established, until the end of the reign of Philip II, the numbers were much

more than I have stated, considering the records of the tribunals of Toledo and Saragossa, which did not notably exceed the rest. If we were to add the victims punished by the tribunals of Mexico, Lima, Cartagena de las Indias (Cartagena in Colombia), Sicily, and in the galleys at sea, the number would be incalculable. Still more so were we to count the victims which resulted from the attempts to establish the Inquisition in Naples, Milan, and Flanders, for all these belonged to Spain, and felt the influence of the Spanish tribunal. How many died in their beds of illness caused by the infamy which fell upon them through the condemnation of their relations? No possible calculation could include all this misery.<sup>k</sup>

#### EFFECTS AND INFLUENCES OF THE INQUISITION

Geddes,<sup>l</sup> in 1714, made this contemporary observation, and his point should not be forgotten in an estimate of the far-reaching evils. "By this list we see what a terrible havoc is made by the Inquisition in Portugal, and especially among the trading people, to the great diminution both of its stock in trade and of the number of its current and expert merchants. For though there were but four persons burned this year in Lisbon by the Inquisition, there were above threescore undone by it. Anyone of a family's being taken up by the Inquisition goes a great way towards ruining it, filling them with such horrors as drive them into countries that are out of the reach of the Inquisition."

A recent writer, a churchman, Dean Kitchin,<sup>m</sup> has said:

"The hand of the Holy Office was outstretched against all; no lofty dignity in church or state, no eminence in art or science, no purity of life, could defend from its attacks. It is said to have threatened Charles V and Philip II; it persecuted Archbishop Carranza, head of the church in Spain; destroyed De Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro; it smote Galileo, murdered Giordano Bruno, attacked Pico di Mirandola, and even is said to have threatened Cæsar Borgia. With equal vigour, in combination with the Jesuits, the Inquisition made war on books and learning, religious or secular alike; we have seen how baleful was its effect in earlier days on literature and art in Provence, and in the time of the Catholic sovereigns on the material well-being of Spain. 'In the love of Christ and his maid-mother,' says Queen Isabella, 'I have caused great misery, and have depopulated towns and districts, provinces and kingdoms.'"<sup>n</sup>

#### A CATHOLIC VIEW OF THE INQUISITION (C. J. HEFELE)

The word inquisition with the original signification of an ecclesiastical court of faith, was later applied to a state institution which, on account of its real or alleged harshness, has become a by-word in Europe for everything horrible. There is no doubt that an ecclesiastical court of inquiry existed among the Christians from the beginning, but it is equally certain that in the earliest times the penalties for heresy were only ecclesiastical and clerical without any civil effect. The case was altered when Emperor Constantine appeared as both the protector and the secular arm of the church, for which reason he considered it necessary to exile the heretics, who were threatening the church with danger, in order to put them out of the way of doing harm. More severe punishments than exile were first inflicted upon the Catholics by the Arians when their co-religionists Constantius and Valens occupied the throne. The former introduced the practice of imprisoning the

orthodox, the latter of drowning them, and Arian princes in the later Germanic kingdoms always exercised violence towards those of different faiths.

The connection of church and state was made much closer by the great theocratic idea, emanating from Gregory VII, which aimed at the bringing together of all peoples of the occident into one theocratic union, the protector of which was to be the pope, in the name of God; but the members of which could naturally be only those who belonged to the church. From this standpoint, heretics necessarily appeared as criminals of state because, through their wrong teaching, they rebelled against God as the king of the theocratic union: hence the civil codes of the middle ages punished heresy with death.

Whereas, after the time of Constantine the Great, the civil punishments of heretics were inflicted by the secular rulers, the decision as to whether a person was a heretic or not, was from the very beginning made by the bishops and synods. Hence, if we wish to get at the fundamental idea of the Inquisition, that it was a seeking out and a punishing of heretics, we must say that, in the former sense, it has existed since the time of the apostles; and, in the latter, since that of Constantine the Great. The actual Inquisition had its beginning in the great synod of Toulouse in 1229. Soon after this synod in southern France, we meet especially appointed inquisitors in Italy. Here also heresy had ravaged widely and had become so dangerous that even Emperor Frederick II, who is the last person one could accuse of bigotry, immediately upon his coronation and repeatedly afterwards uttered the death penalty against heretics. Gradually the episcopal inquisition became changed into a Dominican inquisition and was introduced into nearly all the countries of Europe. In the Pyrenaean peninsula likewise, which is here our main subject of interest, it came into Castile, Navarre, and Portugal, as well as into Aragon. Castile was to become the home of the "New Inquisition," as Llorente<sup>k</sup> calls it,—more correctly of the Spanish Inquisition, the direct impulse to which was given by a peculiar condition which existed nowhere else than in Spain.

Already in the first centuries after the birth of Christ, the Jews in Spain had become so numerous and powerful that they began to think of Judaizing the whole land. Hence it came about that the synod of Eliberis (303-313), an old Spanish city in the vicinity of which the later Granada is said to have been built, passed a resolution that in the future no Christian landholder was to let his fields be blessed by Jews. On the other hand there was no lack of attempts on the part of the old Visigothic kings in Spain to force the Jews to become Christians; but this was forbidden by the fourth council of Toledo, in its 57th canon, with the words: "Hereafter no Jew may be made to accept Christianity by force, but those who are already converted, even though it was by force, since they have already received the holy sacraments, must keep their faith and may in no wise blaspheme or despise it."

Much more dangerous than the real Jews were those who were seemingly converted to Christianity and whose numbers had increased enormously after the persecutions at the end of the 14th century. While the former had seized upon a large part of the national wealth and the Spanish commerce, the latter threatened both the Spanish nationality and the Christian religion, since these disguised Jews on the one hand invaded clerical offices and even occupied episcopal chairs, while on the other they attained high civil honours, married into all noble families and used all these connections, together with their wealth, to bring about the victory of Judaism over Spanish nationality and over the Christian faith. Many laymen as well as churchmen recognised the danger threatened by the Jews and were convinced that something must be done by the government, for which reason repeated requests were made to

Ferdinand and Isabella to take measures against the disguised Jews: it was against them that the inquisition was directed later, but never against the real Jews.

Soon after Ferdinand and Isabella had decided to introduce the Inquisition into Castile, Pope Sixtus IV, on November 1st, 1478, gave the ecclesiastical permission and allowed the two rulers to appoint two, or three clerical dignitaries, secular or regular priests, to question and to punish heretics. Two royal inquisitors were now appointed for Seville on the strength of the papal bull. In this step we have the beginning of the New or the Spanish state inquisition which differs principally from the ecclesiastical institution of the same name in the fact that the persons intrusted with the examination and the punishment of heretics — whether they were clericals or laymen — appeared not as servants of the church but as state officials who received their appointment and instructions from the ruling princes.

There was a second political reason why the Spanish monarchs in every way should have favoured an institution which, while appearing to be ecclesiastical, was almost continually accused and fought by the heads of the church, by the popes and bishops. With the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the transition began from the old state to the new, from the Germanic to the abstract and absolute. In the old state the central or royal power was limited by three comparatively free corporations, the nobility, the clergy, and the municipalities, and this the more so as these estates were closely connected with powers abroad, the clergy with Rome, the nobility and municipalities with their foreign peers, so that the union of the state within itself and therefore with the superiority of the throne was not a little hindered. In both Castile and Aragon the inquisition was the most effective means of bringing all subjects, especially the clergy and nobility, under the power of the throne, and of perfecting the absolute authority of the sovereign.

Hence it was that it was precisely the two higher estates which most hated the Inquisition and which were persecuted as its enemies more often than the heretics; it was also principally the prelates who were soon involved in numerous suits with the new tribunals. The popes also could not fail to see that the Spanish Inquisition served the political absolutism much more than it did ecclesiastical purism, and hence they tried to intercept its growth in the same degree that they had promoted the old ecclesiastical inquisition.

This state character of the Spanish Inquisition has also been fully recognised by the more exact historical investigation of modern times, and even Ranke<sup>mm</sup> has expressed himself to the same effect as follows: "We have a celebrated book concerning it (the Inquisition) by Llorente,<sup>k</sup> and if I make so bold as to say anything in disagreement with such a predecessor let this be an excuse, that that so well informed author wrote in the interest of the Alfrancesados of the Josephinian government [i.e. the Gallicising faction supporting King Joseph Bonaparte]. In their interest he opposes the liberties of the Basque provinces, although the latter can hardly be denied. In the same interest he sees in the Inquisition also a usurpation of clerical power over state authority. If I am not mistaken, however, from the very facts which he relates it appears that the Inquisition was a royal court, but one provided with clerical weapons."

Guizot<sup>nn</sup> agrees with this opinion in the words: "It (the Inquisition) was at first more political than religious, and destined to maintain order rather than to defend the faith."

That the Portuguese Inquisition also was always regarded by the government itself as a state institution is shown by an ordinance dated March 20th,

1769, in which King Joseph I says: "It has been reported to me that whereas all other courts of justice, because they represent my royal person, have always borne and still bear the title Majesty, the misuse has arisen in connection with the Holy Office, a tribunal which by its organisation and its service is most closely and directly connected with my royal person, of giving it another title of address."

The Inquisition is often judged according to standards of the 19th instead of the 15th and 16th centuries, and hence it is judged incorrectly. Whereas during the past hundred years it has been the tendency to regard wrong believers and unbelievers of all kinds as the most educated and the noblest citizens, the Inquisition on the contrary was based on the mediæval view that erring in religion was high treason and that only the advocate of the state religion could be a safe and trustworthy citizen. It is natural that the upholder of one standpoint cannot possibly judge impartially, events which have arisen from the other, unless in giving his judgment he is able to transport himself from his own time into the other and into its views.

This is done by every true historian. But the Inquisition is a subject which has been most discussed and described by those who give mere phrases instead of investigations, mere arbitrary statements instead of critical examinations, mere romantic descriptions instead of objective judgments, and who try to replace a lack of knowledge by so called liberally-minded phrases. People of this sort do not remember that the principle, *cujus est regio, illius et religio*,<sup>1</sup> on which the whole Inquisition rests, was universally recognised in olden times, and was so little questioned that Protestants especially upheld it and put it into execution.

For example in the palatinate, when the Kurfürst Frederick III, who had been a Lutheran until then, went over to Calvinism in 1563, he compelled all congregations in his land to take the same step, and exiled everyone who would not accept the Heidelberg catechism. Thirteen years later, in 1576, his son Ludwig restored the orthodox Lutheranism, drove out the Calvinistic preachers and teachers, and forced his dependents to become Lutheran again. The Religious Peace of the year 1555 gave every government the power of giving its dependents the alternative of accepting the religion of the sovereign or of emigrating, upon paying a certain sum, just as was done in Spain with the Jews and Moors; and it is a well-known fact that the Reformation owed its spread in Germany in large measure to this lenient Spanish alternative.

Furthermore, in judging the Inquisition it is often forgotten that the penal code of that time was much more severe and sanguinary than that of the 19th century. Many a trespass which is now atoned for by a slight penalty had at that time to be paid for with blood; and the criminal code of Charles V of the year 1532 is a most speaking witness for the severe criminal justice of the period out of which the Spanish Inquisition grew. Also the *Carolina*, for example, inflicts punishments on body, life, and limb for blasphemy of God and of the Blessed Virgin (§CVI); and witches are punished with death (§CXVI).

It must also not be overlooked, in judging the Inquisition, that the death penalty for heresy was not peculiar to it alone, but was common at that time to all lands and confessions. The reformer Bucer said of Michael Servetus, in the public pulpit at Strassburg, that he deserved the most humiliating death on account of his article against the Trinity. And that this was not merely a strong figure of speech of the Reformers is shown two decades later

[<sup>1</sup> This may be roughly translated "The man that rules the region, rules also its religion."]



by Calvin, when on October 27th, 1553, he had that very "heretic" slowly burned to death at Geneva. That there may remain no doubt that the Protestants of that time wished to punish heresy with death, the "gentle" Melancthon wrote on this subject to Calvin,

"I have read thy article, wherein thou hast refuted in detail the terrible blasphemies of Servetus and therefore I thank the Son of God who has given thee the victory in this thy struggle. The church is greatly indebted to thee for it, now and in all future time. I wholly agree with thy opinion and claim that your highness (*eure Obrigkeit*) has acted wholly in accordance with justice in executing a blasphemous person after a regular examination."

In addition I will note that Theodore Beza also wrote an article *De hereticis a magistratu civili puniendis* and that many others besides Servetus, as Valentine Gentilis, Bolsec, Carlstadt, Grüet, Castellio, the councillor Ameaur, and others, could convince themselves through imprisonment, banishment, and death that in the Protestant church there was no milder an inquisition than in Spain. This is acknowledged even by many Protestants, as for example by Prescott<sup>m</sup> in his history of Ferdinand and Isabella.

But we do not need to go back to the 16th century or even to consider the terrible mistreatment of the Catholics in England,<sup>1</sup> in order to discover counterparts to the Spanish Inquisition among the Protestants. A remarkable case of this kind from the eighteenth century is related by Pfeilschifter: In the year 1724 at Rendsburg a young soldier, because he had wished to make a compact with the devil, as an act of royal favour was merely beheaded. Even more recently, *e.g.* in the year 1844, on the third of April the painter J. O. Nilson in Sweden was banished on account of "apostasy from the Lutheran faith and of going over to a mistaken religion" (the Catholic) and was declared to have forfeited all civil rights and rights of inheritance; this decision was confirmed by the highest court of the land in the year 1845. The unfortunate Nilson died in February 1847 at Copenhagen, in poverty.

I say all this not in reproach but only to show that the Protestants also have recognised the sanguinary rule: "Deviation from the state religion is to be punished with death." If any one had any doubts as to the justice of this principle in the 16th and 17th centuries, it seems to me that these doubts should first have arisen in the minds of the Protestants, because their own apostasy from the church should have taught them to think more leniently of other apostates.

Among the victims of the Inquisition the so-called witches and sorcerers held a considerable place, and it would be superfluous to expend many words in proving that these unfortunates were just as severely persecuted in Germany as in Spain and in just as sanguinary a fashion by Protestants as by Catholics. Not only a Torquemada, but also a Benedict Carpzov two hundred years later, erected a stake for burning witches. Even the reformer Beza reproached the French parliament for being too lax in seeking out witches, and Walter Scott acknowledges that the stronger Calvinism grew in England the more numerous were the processes against witches. The Jesuit Frederick Spee of Langenfeld overthrew the belief in witches among the Catholics seventy years earlier than the Protestant Thomasius, and even in the year

[<sup>1</sup>The reader will find full treatment of Protestant excesses in the histories of Germany, Switzerland, and England. The persecution of Catholics in England is discussed, in vol. XIX, pp. 148-155, 159-161, 199-200, 354-355, 406-408, 444-453, including an account of tortures used in England during Elizabeth's reign, and a comparison of her cruelties with those of "Bloody Mary." As part of religious history, one should also note the persecutions inflicted on dissenters by the Church of England, in Scotland and Ireland, as discussed in the histories of those countries.]

1713 the legal faculty of Tübingen condemned a witch to death; indeed just a year later than in Spain, was the last witch burned in the canton of Glarus by a reformed court, in 1782.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, a comparison of the German processes against witches with the workings of the Spanish Inquisition, could hardly be made to appear to the advantage of the former.

Moreover it must not be forgotten with all this that the tribunal of the Inquisition always delivered only the sentence, that the accused was more or less, wholly or partly, or not at all guilty of heresy, blasphemy and the like. It itself never condemned to death though its decisions led to this penalty, in that the one found "guilty of heresy" by the Holy Office was turned over to the secular arm and by this, namely by the council of Castile, was led before the highest Spanish court for death or imprisonment.

The Spanish Inquisition is often declared to be a product of the Roman doctrinal despotism, without attention being given to the fact that it was precisely the popes who were least inclined to this institution and who at nearly all times tried to limit it. Even Llorente,<sup>2</sup> who can be accused of partiality to the popes no more than of a Jacobite partiality for the kingdom, shows this in almost innumerable instances and examples.

Stories are told of the cruel torments and tortures which the unfortunate beings in the dungeons of the Inquisition had to suffer, but even the most gentle character must not forget that the torture was used in those days in all secular courts in all countries, that it even existed legally in many German states in the 19th century and did not go out of general use until about the middle of the 18th century, in the courts of inquisition at the same time as in the secular courts. Besides execution by fire, sword, quartering, the wheel, gallows, and water, the *Carolina* speaks of burying alive, of tearing with glowing tongs, of cutting off the tongue and ears, of hacking off fingers and the like. Of all these ignominious and painful punishments, however, the Inquisition knows nothing. Moreover, at a time when in all Europe prisons were dark damp holes and real graves, full of mould, filth, and pest-breeding smells, the Inquisition brought its prisoners, to use the words of Llorente<sup>3</sup> into "well arched, light and dry rooms where they could make some movement." No more did any prisoner of the Inquisition, as again Llorente testifies, groan under the weight of chains, hand cuffs, iron neck bands etc., and Llorente tells of only one on whom fetters were put, in order to keep him from suicide. The prisoners were asked if the gaoler treated them well and good care was also taken of the sick. Special buildings, by the name of "penitence houses," were erected for the prisoners for life and these were subject to visitation from time to time.

It has furthermore become customary to think of the Inquisition as an ever-threatening and never-satisfied catch-and-seize-institution, whose polyp arms greedily grasped the poor unfortunate at the least sign of suspicion. But this view, which has such a drastic effect in historical romances and in romantic histories is wholly wrong and mistaken and must be entirely abandoned, unless Llorente is to be accused of partiality for the Inquisition. In the first place, every tribunal of the Inquisition began its activity by promulgating a time of grace and proclaimed publicly that: "whoever is conscious of apostasy from the faith but within the fixed time will voluntarily come forth and do penance, shall be absolved in grace and protected from severe penalty." After

[<sup>1</sup> The reader will find in vol. XXIII page 177, a statement that a man was "swam for a wizard" in England in 1825. He should consult this same volume, pages 171-177, for an account of the witchcraft persecutions in the United States, at Salem, in 1692, and pages 177-178 for an account of the mutilation and execution of Quakers in Massachusetts.]

the expiration of the term, however, the severity of the law was to be exercised towards the apostates; but again and again were the times of grace renewed and lengthened.

Further, the statutes of the Inquisition regarding young heretics deserve attention. "If sons and daughters of heretics," so ordained Torquemada, "who have fallen into error through the teachings of their parents, and have not reached the age of twenty years, themselves apply to be taken back into favour, the inquisition shall receive such young people kindly, even if they should come after the time of reprieve, shall impose lighter penances upon them than upon grown persons and shall take pains that they receive instruction in the faith and the sacraments of the Holy Mother, the church."

It is said that the least expression, often an innocent one, brought an unfortunate into the prisons of the Inquisition. But the second great inquisitor, Deza, who is considered even stricter than Torquemada himself, issued the order on June 17th, 1500 that "no one may be arrested for trivial reasons, not even on account of blasphemy which was uttered in anger." There was no inclination to take the testimony of any person who happened to make an accusation before the tribunal of the Inquisition; on the contrary Llorente himself tells of cases in which only repeated accusations against a person could move the inquisitors to action and they were very much inclined to ascribe the mad behaviour of many heretics to mental aberration.

Wonderful stories are told of the incomes of the inquisitors, who are said to have condemned many only in order to enrich themselves from the confiscated goods. It is true that the cause of justice is in a bad way when condemnation is to bring a pecuniary profit to the judge and it would have been truly a dangerous and disreputable arrangement if the income of the inquisitors had depended on the number of those they condemned. Prescott<sup>m</sup> (I, 287) would really like to make us believe that such was the case, but we know from Llorente that the confiscated goods of the condemned fell to the royal treasury, and that the Inquisition officers of all kinds had a fixed salary which they received quarterly. Hence it comes that Llorente accused the Spanish king of avarice and not the inquisitors, in which Ranke<sup>mm</sup> bears him out.

Terrible is the picture which we make to ourselves of an *auto da fé* (actus fidei, i.e., "an act of faith") as if it were nothing else than an enormous fire and a colossal stewing pan, around which the Spaniards sat like cannibals, in order to enjoy the spectacle of the roasting and broiling of several hundred unfortunates, four or five times a year. But let me be allowed to state that in the first place an *auto da fé* did not consist of burning and killing but, in part, of the exculpation of those who had been falsely accused and in part of the reconciliation of the repentant with the church, and there were even many *autos da fé* at which nothing burned but the candles which the penitent carried in their hands in token of the light of faith rekindled in their hearts.

Furthermore it must not be overlooked that those who were condemned by the Inquisition were not only heretics, but also such as lived in polygamy, priests and monks who had married, laymen who exercised clerical functions, deacons who heard confessions and those who falsely gave themselves out to be commissioners of the Inquisition, which as we know from *Gil Blas* happened not infrequently.

If in the little Protestant city of Nördlingen, as Soldan shows in his history of the witch processes, out of a total population of 6,000, not less than 35 witches were burned in the four years from 1590 to 1594; this ratio, applied to Spain for four years, would give at least 50,000 witches, whereas Llorente himself gives the number of those condemned to death by the Inquisition during

the 330 years of its existence as only 30,000, including heretics, witches, sorcerers, smugglers and all the rest; this even if we wish to accept Llorente's figures as not exaggerated.

But I think I may claim and can prove that they are exaggerated. Above all we must never forget that Llorente's figures are not taken from official registers, not even from private records, but originated only from a system of probable reckonings which in part rests on false premises. He himself confesses this unreservedly, and often describes the theory he has used in his conjectural reckoning. Llorente's arbitrariness and injustice are most clearly shown in regard to Ximenes. Llorente states explicitly that this archbishop tried to make the Inquisition less severe, that he removed bad officials, that he pardoned many of the accused, etc. Nevertheless, that does not hinder him from supposing just as many executions annually under Ximenes as under Deza and his helper Lucero, both of whom he repeatedly accuses of the most boundless cruelty and severity. That such a reckoning is untrue and unjust needs no proof.

After all these observations we are still far removed from wishing to justify the Spanish Inquisition; on the contrary we would everywhere oppose the right of a secular power to interfere with the conscience, but we wished to prove that the institution of the Inquisition was not the outrageous monstrosity which party passions and lack of knowledge have often made it out to be.<sup>oo</sup>

#### *Another Catholic View (Heinrich Brück)*

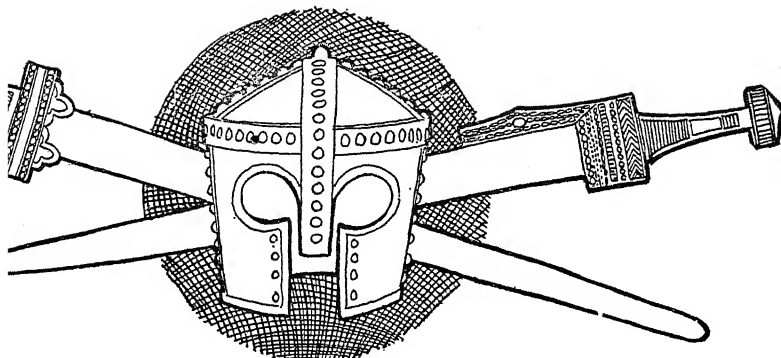
Opinions differ as to the character of the Spanish Inquisition. A number of scholars (Hefele<sup>oo</sup>, Gams<sup>pp</sup> and others) claim that it was purely a state institution, whereas the Spanish writers emphasize its ecclesiastical character, without denying the great influence of the crown upon it. The correct view is probably given by Rodrigo<sup>ii</sup> and Orti y Lara.<sup>jj</sup> The former says (I, 276): "The tribunals of the Holy Office had no secular character of themselves. They were ecclesiastical tribunals in respect to the cases which they judged and in respect to the authority which created them. In respect to the royal delegation, however, which was granted to the judges, it may be said that they had a mixed character." Orti y Lara expresses himself in like manner. According to him (p. 27), "the Inquisition united the papal sword of the church and the secular sword of the king into one single sword."

The accusation that the Spanish Inquisition was unpopular is just as false as the statement that it caused the ruin of science and literature in Spain. As Balmes testifies (*Protestantismus and Katholicismus*, I, 412, *et seq.*), the Catholic kings fulfilled the universal wish of the people by establishing the Inquisition; the people were always in sympathy with it, whereas it was opposed by the nobility and higher clergy. The decline of literary activity moreover can not have been caused by the Inquisition for the reason that the golden age of Spanish literature coincided with the time when the Inquisition was in full sway. The greatest theologians, philosophers, and poets, whose works were approved by the Inquisition, lived at that time. Schools were founded and classical studies diligently pursued.

One of the chief accusations brought against the Spanish Inquisition is the alleged extraordinary number of its victims. This accusation is based chiefly on the statements of Antonio Llorente.<sup>k</sup> But it needs only a nearer acquaintance with the character of this embittered free mason and with his proofs, to perceive the incorrectness of his statements. Far from citing historical documents he builds up his argument upon evident falsification, arbitrary

assumptions which are in wide contrast with the authorities, and, as the Protestant Peschel<sup>rr</sup> says (page 151), upon a "frivolous calculation from probabilities," so that he cannot be trusted in regard to his data. According to Gams<sup>rr</sup> (III, 274) the number of those executed for heresy during the whole period of the Inquisition was about four thousand, a number not equal to that of the victims of the witch processes in Catholic and Protestant Germany.<sup>ss</sup>





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## A BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF SPANISH HISTORY (711-1902 A.D.)

THE KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS; AFTERWARDS CALLED OF OVIEDO, AND THEN  
OF LEON (711-1037 A.D.)

- 711 Battle of the Guadalete and downfall of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain. The Moors spread over the peninsula.
- 718 **Pelayo (Pelagius)** elected king by Spanish fugitives who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias. The Moors invade the district but are defeated at the cave of Covadonga and driven back. The Christians are left in peace to found the kingdom of Asturias.
- 722 Leon taken by Pelayo.
- 737 **Favila**, son of Pelayo, succeeds him.
- 739 **Alfonso I**, the Catholic, son-in-law of Pelayo, greatly extends his territory; acquires towns in Galicia, Lusitania, Leon, and Castile, and rules over Biscay and Navarre.
- 757 **Fruela I** makes Oviedo his capital. The harshness of his rule rouses his subjects to revolt and they put him to death.
- 768 **Aurelio or Aurelius**, nephew of Alfonso I, succeeds, and is followed by
- 774 **Silo**, his brother, who removes his court to Pravia.
- 778 Battle of Roncesvalles, in which the Spaniards ascribe the defeat of Charlemagne to Bernardo del Carpio, nephew of Alfonso II.
- 784 **Mauregato the Usurper**, to whom was ascribed the promise to pay the Moors a tribute of one hundred damsels.
- 788 **Bermudo (Veremundo) I the Deacon** is persuaded to accept the crown, but after three years resigns it.
- 791 **Alfonso (II) the Chaste** establishes his court at Oviedo, and firmly establishes his kingdom. The stories of the exploits of his nephew, Bernardo del Carpio, are probably mere fables with a slight foundation of truth.
- 842 **Ramiro I**. Revolts of the counts Nepotiano and Aldrete suppressed. The Northmen land at Corunna and ravage the district. Ramiro defeats them and burns seventy of their ships.
- 844 Supposed battle of Clavigo or Clavijo, in which Ramiro was said to have defeated the Moors with great slaughter by the aid of Santiago, who appeared in person on a white horse.
- 850 **Ordoño I** fortifies his frontier cities and defeats the Moors in several conflicts, notably at Albelda, and successfully asserts his authority over his own nobles. Northmen defeated in Galicia.
- 866 **Alfonso (III) the Great**. The beginning of his reign is disturbed by pretenders and other rebels.
- 873 Navarre, which had maintained towards Asturias a fitful allegiance constantly disturbed by Frankish intrigue, is conferred on Count Sancho Inigo. Mohammedans frequently defeated by Alfonso, who advances his borders to the Guadiana. Leon becomes the capital. Battle of Zamora and defeat of the Mohammedans.
- 907 Rebellion of Alfonso's son Garcia Nuño Fernandez, count of Castile, and other nobles. The prince is imprisoned. Revolt in his favour. Alfonso abdicates and divides his territories amongst his three sons, Ordoño receiving Galicia, Fruela Oviedo, and

- 910 **Garcia** the kingdom of Asturias. Alfonso successfully invades Mohammedan territory. He dies soon after. Garcia makes Leon his capital and assumes the title of king of Leon.
- 914 **Ordoño II** reunites Galicia with Leon.
- 917 Alhange stormed and the garrison massacred by Ordoño. Merida purchases peace. Further victories won by Ordoño over the Mohammedans.
- 918 Abd ar-Rahman III defeated at San Pedro de Gormaz.
- 921 Battle of Val de Junquera. Ordoño and his Navarrese allies are defeated by Abd ar-Rahman, owing to the defection of the counts of Castile. They are seized and put to death. Ordoño suppresses the rebellion to avenge them and defeats the Moors at Rioja.
- 923 **Fruela II**, brother of Ordoño, elected to the throne.
- 925 **Alfonso IV**.
- 930 Abdication of Alfonso. He retires to a monastery.
- 931 Attempting soon after to recover the throne, he is taken and blinded by his brother, **Ramiro II**.
- 939 Battle of Simancas. Ramiro defeats Abd ar-Rahman III. Fernan Gonsalez and Diego Nuñez, counts of Castile, revolt. They are subdued and imprisoned, but then restored to office. Fernan's daughter Urracais married to Ramiro's son, who succeeds his father as
- 950 **Ordoño III**. His brother Sancho and Fernan Gonsalez revolt, and are aided by the Navarrese. Ordoño triumphs over them and quells a Galician revolt.
- 955 **Ordoño IV** makes himself king by gaining over the troops of
- 956 **Sancho (I) the Fat**, who recovers his rights with the help of Cordovan troops.
- 967 **Ramiro III**.
- 968 The Northmen under Gundered invade and waste Galicia and great part of Leon during two years, till they are finally overthrown and destroyed by the count of Galicia and their vessels are burned.
- 979 Almansor, regent of Cordova, collects an army against Leon and defeats
- 981 Ramiro at Zamora and Simancas.
- 982 Indecisive battle of Monterroso between Ramiro and the pretender Bermudo who, on the death of Ramiro, succeeds as **Bermudo or Veremundo (II) the Gouty**. His reign is occupied by continuous rebellions under Rodrigo Velasquez, Conancio, Gonzalo Bermudez, and others, while Almansor constantly increases his territory, taking city after city, including Coimbra, which he destroyed, Leon, whose fortifications he razed, Compostella, whence he carried off the gates and bells of the shrine of St. James.
- 999 **Alfonso V** (under the regency of Gonsalvo).
- 1002 Death of Almansor after his defeat at the perhaps fabulous battle of Calatanazar. Order restored in the kingdom of Leon. The capital is rebuilt. Beneficial laws proclaimed. Sancho Garces, count of Castile, rebels.
- 1021 Garcia succeeds Sancho as count of Castile.
- 1026 Murder of Garcia at his marriage with the princess of Leon. The northern part of Castile annexed to Navarre. Alfonso invades Portugal and is killed at the siege of Viseu.
- 1027 **Bermudo III**. Sancho the Great of Navarre conquers part of Leon. Bermudo wins several fortresses from the Mohammedans.
- 1037 Battle of Carrion. Bermudo slain in battle with **Ferdinand I**, king of Castile, who is recognised as king of Leon, Galicia, and Asturias, in right of his wife, Bermudo's sister.

#### RISE OF CASTILE (739-1037 A.D.)

- 739-757 Alfonso I of Leon erects fortresses (*castella*) in the ancient province of Cantabria, called in the eighth century Bardulia, and then Castile.
- 860 **Rodrigo**, count of Castile.
- 866 **Diego Rodriguez, Porcellos**, count.
- 882 Burgos founded.
- Gonzalo Fernandez.**
- Nuno Fernandez.**
- 932 **Fernan Gonsalez** revolts against Ramiro II of Leon and is defeated and captured by him, but is restored to office. His daughter Urraca marries Ramiro's son Ordoño (III).
- 950 Revolt of Fernan against Ordoño III with whose brother Sancho he invades Leon, but is repulsed. Ordoño repudiates Urraca. She marries the son of Alfonso IV of Leon, afterwards Ordoño IV. Fernan Gonsalez is credited by the older writers with great achievements in the struggle with the Moors.

- 970 **Garcia Fernandez**, count. His son Sancho Garces rebels against him. The story of the infantes De Lara, their betrayal to the Moors, their murder and the vengeance taken by their half-brother Mudarra, belongs to this reign.
- 995 The Cordovans defeat and capture Garcia. He dies of his wounds. **Sancho Garces**, count.
- 1021 **Garcia**, count.
- 1026 Birth of Ruy, or Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, called el Cid Campeador (the Lord Champion). Garcia betrothed to the daughter of Alfonso V of Leon with the promise of the title of king. Garcia murdered at the wedding. Sancho the Great of Navarre annexes the northern part of Castile and assumes the sovereignty of the whole in right of his wife, Muña Elvira, Garcia's sister; and on his death his son
- 1035 **Ferdinand (I) the Great** becomes king of Castile with the district between the Pisuerga and the Cea, which had been conquered from Leon by Sancho the Great and which Bermudo III attempts to recover, but is slain in the
- 1037 Battle of Carrion. Ferdinand, as the husband of Bermudo's sister, succeeds to the kingdom of Leon, after a slight resistance from the population.

## KINGDOMS OF CASTILE AND LEON (1037-1156 A.D.)

- 1037 **Ferdinand (I) the Great**, king of Leon and Castile. He establishes his capital at Leon; confirms and adds to the laws of Alfonso V; subdues the rebellious barons, and engages in a war with his brother Garcia III of Navarre, who at the
- 1054 battle of Atapuerca is defeated and slain.
- 1055 Ferdinand takes Cea and other fortresses from the Mohammedans. Visen and Lamego taken (1057), and
- 1064 Coimbra. The king of Toledo becomes a vassal of Leon. Valencia and Andalusia invaded by Ferdinand. On his death
- 1065 **Sancho II** becomes king of Castile. Alfonso VI king of Leon and Garcia king of Galicia. Ferdinand's daughters, Urraca and Elvira, receive Zamora and Toro.
- 1068 Battle of Golpejara on the Pisuerga. Alfonso defeats Sancho, but on the arrival of the Cid is in his turn defeated by Sancho.
- 1071 At the battle of Valpelle Sancho defeats Alfonso VI and imprisons him in a monastery, whence he escapes to Toledo. Garcia then seizes the lands of Urraca,
- 1072 but is attacked at Santarem by Sancho, who is at first defeated and taken prisoner, but afterwards released by the Cid. The Castilians in their turn defeat and capture Garcia, who is either held prisoner or made tributary. Sancho now besieges his sister Urraca in Zamora, but is assassinated before the walls.
- 1073 **Alfonso VI** returns, is elected at Burgos, and acknowledged by Leonese, Castilians, and Galicians, but an oath is exacted of his innocence of Sancho's death. The oath is administered by the Cid, who incurs Alfonso's lasting enmity. Garcia kept prisoner.
- 1074 Expedition of Alfonso to aid the king of Toledo in resisting the king of Cordova. Alfonso invades Portugal, and makes several Mohammedan governors tributary.
- Marriage of the Cid and Ximena.
- 1077 The Council of Burgos declines to accept the Roman ritual, but the supremacy of Rome is acknowledged by Alfonso.
- 1081 The Cid banished for waging independent war against the king of Granada. He takes service with the Mohammedan ruler of Saragossa.
- 1084 Toledo is taken by Alfonso from Yahya ben Ismail after a siege of two years, and becomes the capital of the kingdom. Alfonso in return for its surrender promised to maintain Yahya in possession of Valencia, but failed to do so.
- 1086 Battle of Zallaka. Yusuf, king of the Almoravids, comes to the aid of the Spanish Moors, and defeats the forces of Castile, Aragon, and Barcelona. Alfonso resumes the offensive. The Cid is said to have been active in all these wars: after being banished by Alfonso he carried on hostilities on his own account, and after his restoration to favour was foremost in the great siege of Toledo, after which he again waged war on his own account, subduing many Moorish chiefs, including the kings of Saragossa and Valencia. The latter being deposed and slain by a rival,
- 1094 the Cid laid siege to the city and took it after a long and famous siege. He was in
- 1100 his turn twice besieged there, and after his death (1099) the Moors regained possession.
- 1108 Yusuf's successor Ali inflicted a severe defeat on Alfonso in the battle of Ucles or Urcesia.
- 1109 **Urraca**, daughter of Alfonso VI, succeeds to Castile and Leon. Her second husband Alfonso I of Aragon, el Batallador, is recognised as Alfonso VII of Castile and Leon, and assumes the title of emperor of Spain. Alfonso Raymond, Urraca's son

- by her first marriage, inherits Galicia. Domestic quarrels and war between Urraca and her husband. A party declares for Alfonso Raymond, and after a long period of civil war and anarchy he is recognised on Urraca's death as
- 1126 **Alfonso (VII) Raymond** (also called Alfonso VIII). Peace arranged between him and his step-father.
- 1134 On the latter's death at Fraga the king of Castile protects Aragon from the Moors, and occupies several Aragonese fortresses, which he only restores to Aragon as fiefs.
- 1135 The rulers of Navarre, Barcelona, and Toulouse do Alfonso homage. He assumes the title of emperor of all Spain. War with Navarre and the count of Portugal.
- 1140 Tournay of Valdevez. The Castilian knights defeated by the Portuguese. Alfonso Henriques of Portugal assumes the title of king. Alliance between Castile and Aragon for the partition of Navarre fails.
- 1143 A formal treaty between Alfonso Raymond and Alfonso Henriques of Portugal recognises the latter as king of Portugal.
- 1146 Castile and Aragon come to the aid of the Almoravids against the Almohads and
- 1147 aided by the fleets of Pisa and Genoa take Almeria. The Christian frontiers are advanced to the Sierra Morena.
- 1156 The knightly order of San Julian del Pereyro, afterwards called of Alcantara, founded to resist the Moors.

#### TEMPORARY SEPARATION OF CASTILE AND LEON (1157-1230 A.D.)

- 1157 **Sancho III** inherits Castile, and **Ferdinand II** Leon.
- 1158 **Alfonso (VIII)** (III of Castile) the Noble succeeds Sancho III at the age of three. His minority is occupied by quarrels for the regency leading to civil war between the noble houses of Lara and Castro. Ferdinand of Leon also claims the chief power and invades the country, while the Navarrese seize several border fortresses.
- 1169 Cortes of Burgos. The cities send representatives.
- 1170 Anarchy finally ended by Alfonso's assuming the government himself when he concludes an alliance with Raymond, regent of Aragon, and marries Eleanor, daughter of Henry II of England.
- 1175 Order of the knights of Santiago founded.
- 1188 **Alfonso IX** of Leon succeeds Ferdinand II. Disputes and hostilities between him and the king of Castile.
- 1195 The two Alfonsos make an alliance against the Moors, but are severely defeated at Alarcon, whereupon they make war on each other.
- 1197 Peace between Leon and Castile consolidated by the marriage of Berengaria, daughter of Alfonso of Castile, to Alfonso of Leon. Pope Innocent III, who had already dissolved the king of Leon's marriage with Teresa of Portugal, excommunicates the sovereign of Leon, and lays the kingdom under an interdict. After a struggle of six years the king and queen separate, but their children are recognised as legitimate. War between the two Alfonsos.
- 1212 Innocent III, aided by Alfonso of Castile, brings about an alliance of the Christian states in the peninsula and, in the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, they unite and inflict a crushing defeat on the Mohammedans. On this occasion the Spanish Christians were reinforced by large numbers of crusaders from abroad.
- 1214 **Henry I**, a minor, succeeds Alfonso VIII of Castile. Berengaria is appointed regent, but Alvaro Nuñez de Lara contrives to supplant her, and rules in tyrannical fashion till the death of Henry in 1217, when Berengaria succeeds, but immediately abdicates in favour of her son, the heir of Leon.
- 1217 **Ferdinand (III) the Saint**. His father, Alfonso of Leon, supported by Alvaro Nuñez, invades Castile. The nobles rally round Ferdinand; Alvaro is taken, and peace made with Alfonso.

#### CASTILE AND LEON FROM THEIR PERMANENT REUNION TO THE ACCESSION OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC (1230-1479 A.D.)

- 1230 Murcia is invaded by Ferdinand, who is besieging Jaen when he hears of his father's death. Berengaria persuades his half-sisters to waive their pretensions, and Ferdinand reunites the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. He continues his victorious career against the Moors, takes Cordova, occupies Murcia and part of Andalusia (1235), and
- 1248 takes Seville.

- 1252 **Alfonso (X) el Sabio** (the Learned). Xeres de la Frontera, Medina Sidonia, and Cadiz pass into his hands.
- 1254 Eleanor, the king's daughter, marries Prince Edward (Edward I) of England.
- 1257 The king claims the duchy of Swabia, and having wasted large sums in fruitless endeavours to secure election to the German Empire, he replenishes his coffers by debasing the coinage, persecuting the Jews, and other arbitrary measures.
- 1263 The Castilian rights over Algarve ceded to Portugal on the marriage of the Portuguese king with Beatrice, daughter of Alfonso el Sabio. Certain Castilian nobles make this an excuse to revolt, and demand redress of grievances and extraordinary privileges, which Alfonso weakly concedes.
- 1275 Death of the king's eldest son, the infante Ferdinand de la Cerda. The cortes declare Ferdinand's brother Sancho the next heir, to the exclusion of Ferdinand's sons, the infantes de la Cerda, whose cause is espoused by their uncle, the king of France.
- 1281 War between Alfonso and Sancho. The nobles rally round Sancho, who makes alliance with the kings of Aragon and Portugal, and declares himself king. The war is only concluded by the defeat of Sancho a few months before Alfonso's death. Alfonso is best known for the encouragement he gave to learning, and the important literary productions which bear his name — some of his own work, and others compiled by his order. They include the code of laws called *Las Siete Partidas* (promulgated in 1258); the astronomical work called the *Alfonsine Tables* (drawn up in 1253); the *Cronica General de España*, a translation of the Holy Bible, and some poems.
- 1284 **Sancho the Great and the Brave (or Bravo)**. The reign is disturbed by the constant rebellions of the Laras and the king's brother Don Juan, and the infantes de la Cerda, aided by Aragon, and supported by France.
- 1292 Alonzo Perez de Guzman the Good takes Tarifa from the Moors, and maintains it against the emperor of Morocco and Don Juan, refusing to surrender even to save his son whom Juan murders before the walls.
- 1295 The accession of **Ferdinand (IV) el Emplazado** (the Summoned) at the age of nine, gives fresh impulse to anarchy. The Hermandad or brotherhood of citizens is formed to resist the lawless depredations of the nobles. The queen-mother, Maria de Molina, recognizes it, and opposes a bold resistance to rival pretenders and domestic and foreign enemies.
- 1301 She obtains the papal recognition of her marriage, and of the legitimacy of Ferdinand IV, but nevertheless the struggles with turbulent barons continue during the remainder of the reign.
- 1305 Treaty of Campillo puts an end to the struggle for the succession. Ferdinand begins to reign in his own name.
- 1310 Trial of the Templars at Salamanca. Their solemn acquittal does not prevent the suppression of their order in Castile as elsewhere.
- 1312 Mysterious death of Ferdinand, as was said, by the judgment of God. **Alfonso XI**, an infant, succeeds. Return of anarchy in the struggle for the regency.
- 1315 The regency divided between the infantes Pedro and Juan, the king's uncles.
- 1319 Both regents slain in battle with the Moors.
- 1320 Don Juan Manuel assumes the regency. Civil wars with rival claimants.
- 1324 The king assumes the government, but fails to restore order. He murders his cousin, Juan el Tuerto, and by repudiating his own wife, daughter of Don Juan Manuel, provokes the latter to rebellion.
- 1328 Right of the cortes to a voice in important affairs of state recognised by the king. He undertakes for himself and successors to impose no tax without the consent of the cortes.
- 1339 Abul Hakam, emir of Fez, arrives in Spain with a large army. Alfonso aided by troops from Aragon and Portugal defeats him in the great
- 1340 Battle of Salado. Abul Hakam flees to Africa.
- 1344 Algeciras taken by Alfonso after a long siege.
- 1350 Death of Alfonso by the Black Death at the siege of Gibraltar. It was to pay for this war that the *alcavala*, a tax of one-twentieth on all sales of real property, was first granted. Alfonso XI patronised letters, and ordered the continuation of the *Cronica* of Alfonso X which was intrusted to a royal chronicler. The code of Alfonso X was also brought into use in this reign. **Pedro the Cruel**. Leonora de Guzman, the late king's mistress, imprisoned and her sons driven into exile.
- 1351 Murder of Leonora de Guzman and of Garcilasso de la Vega, adelantado of Castile.
- 1352 Henry of Trastamara and Don Tello, Leonora's sons, revolt and form a league against
- 1353 Pedro. The king marries Blanche de Bourbon, a French princess, but immediately forsakes her for Maria de Padilla, retaining Blanche a prisoner.



- 1354 Ferdinand Perez de Castro revolts in revenge for the king's false marriage with his sister Juana. The citizens of Toledo take arms for Blanche. Meeting at Toro between Pedro and his barons. Pedro consents to reinstate Blanche.
- 1355 Pedro takes Toledo, imprisons Blanche at Sigüenza, executes several rebels, and massacres the Jewish merchants. The kingdom laid under an interdict.
- 1356 Toro taken by Pedro from his mother. He massacres her partisans before her eyes. Pedro engages in a war with Portugal, in which many Castilian nobles join the foreigner.
- 1358 Don Fadrique, grand-master of Santiago and son of Leonora de Guzman, slain by Pedro's own hand and his partisans murdered. Murder of Don Juan, infante of Aragon.
- 1361 Portuguese refugees delivered up to Pedro I of Portugal in exchange for Castilians who had fled to Portugal, and execution of the persons surrendered. Blanche de Bourbon poisoned.
- 1362 Maria de Padilla dies. Pedro declares her son his lawful heir. Abu Said, king of Granada, comes to ask Pedro's assistance and is robbed and murdered by him.
- 1363 The Black Prince (of Wales) concludes an alliance with Pedro the Cruel to meet a threatened invasion of Castile from France. The French, under Du Guesclin, unite with the party of Henry of Trastámara, who, supported by Aragon, claims Pedro's throne.
- 1366 Battle of Borja. Sir Hugh Calverley, commanding the English Free Company under Du Guesclin, defeats the Castilians, and Henry is proclaimed at Calahorra. Flight of Pedro. Henry takes peaceful possession of Burgos and is crowned. Edward the Black Prince receives Pedro at Bordeaux and makes a treaty with him which includes Charles the Bad of Navarre. Edward engages to restore Pedro in return for the surrender of certain seaports. Charles promises the army a free passage through Navarre. The English advance guard cut to pieces at Ariñez.
- 1367 Battle of Navarrete, or Najera, and complete triumph of the English. Henry escapes to Aragon. Pedro celebrates his restoration by a series of murders. He evades his engagements with the Black Prince, and the latter withdraws his troops much reduced by famine and disease.
- 1369 Henry returns, is welcomed by some cities and reduces others. Pedro makes alliance with Muhammed V of Granada. The united troops fail to retake Cordova, and Muhammed retreats. Pedro on his way to relieve Toledo is invested in Montiel by Henry. In an interview between the brothers, a struggle ensues in which Henry stabs Pedro to death. **Henry II.** The king of Portugal claims the throne of Castile, which is also threatened by Navarre, Aragon, and Granada.
- 1371 A new *Ordinance concerning the Administration of Justice* regulates criminal procedure. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, claims the throne in right of his wife, Constanza, daughter of Pedro the Cruel.
- 1372 Battle off La Rochelle. Henry wins a naval victory over the English.
- 1373 Lisbon besieged by Henry, and the king of Portugal forced to make peace.
- 1379 **Juan I** makes alliance with France.
- 1380 The Castilians sail up the Thames and destroy the English shipping. Ferdinand of Portugal offers John of Gaunt his alliance.
- 1381 The earl of Cambridge arrives in Portugal with a few followers, but after some fighting in Castile returns to England.
- 1382 Beatrice, heiress of Portugal, marries Juan of Castile, but on the death of her father Ferdinand, her uncle João I usurps the Portuguese throne.
- 1385 and defeats Juan of Castile in a great battle at Aljubarrota, where the Castilians lose ten thousand men.
- 1386 John of Gaunt lands in Galicia, is proclaimed king at Santiago, and with the help of the king of Portugal takes several fortresses, but is driven to retreat by an outbreak of plague in his army. John of Gaunt resigns his claims in return for fiefs and money and the marriage of his daughter with Juan's eldest son, who receives the title of prince of Asturias, now first assigned to the heir of Castile.
- 1390 **Henry (III) the Sickly** succeeds at the age of eleven. Disputes for the regency.
- 1392 Persecution of the Jews.
- 1393 Henry assumes the government himself. He has some success in restoring order, and ranges himself on the side of the people against the nobles.
- 1401 The cortes of Tordesillas passes measures for reform of the judicial system. Embassy to Tamerlane or Timur.
- 1404 Conquest of the Canaries by Jean de Bethencourt, a Norman adventurer, with assistance from Henry, who grants him the title of king.
- 1406 **Juan II**, one year old, succeeds under the guardianship of his uncle Ferdinand the Just. Ferdinand restrains the turbulence of the nobles.

- 1408 Alvaro de Luna comes to court as a page and begins to exercise his influence over Juan.  
 1412 Ferdinand accepts the crown of Aragon, but maintains his influence in Castile till his death (1416).  
 1420 Henry, brother of Alfonso V of Aragon and Juan II of Navarre, desiring to marry Juan's sister Catalina, seizes the king and keeps him prisoner till he consents to the marriage.  
 1425 Alvaro de Luna, the king's favourite, made constable of Castile.  
 1427 The nobles, jealous of his unbounded influence, league against him. He is exiled, but soon recalled.  
 1429 New league against Alvaro. The kings of Navarre and Aragon invade Castile.  
 1431 Battle of Higuera and the defeat of the Moors by De Luna. His vigorous rule brings prosperity to Castile.  
 1439 New league against De Luna, and civil war in which the kings of Aragon and Navarre join,  
 1445 but are defeated by Juan in the battle of Olmedo.  
 1453 The king, prompted by his second wife Isabella of Portugal, resolves on De Luna's death. He is seized, tried, and executed.  
 1454 **Henry (IV) the Impotent.** His extravagance and neglect provoke the barons to unite against him and, after several unsuccessful attempts, compel him to set aside the infanta Juana, called La Beltraneja, and recognise his brother Alfonso as his heir.  
 1465 Not content with this, at a solemn ceremony on the plain of Avila, they declare Henry deposed and set up Alfonso as king.  
 1468 A destructive civil war continues till Alfonso's death (1468), when his sister Isabella (the Catholic) refuses to take his place, and contents herself with recognition as Henry's heiress.  
 1469 Isabella refuses to marry the heir of Portugal, and marries Ferdinand prince of Aragon. Henry's endeavours to secure Juana's succession produce further bloodshed. He bequeaths Castile to her in his will.  
 1474 Henry IV dies, and **Isabella (I) the Catholic** has herself proclaimed queen of Castile. Ferdinand endeavours to assert his own claims as representative of the male line, but is induced to accept a carefully defined share in the government. The cause of Juana la Beltraneja is espoused by many Castilian nobles and by her uncle Alfonso V of Portugal, who proposes to marry her and invades Castile.  
 1476 Battle of Toro and complete victory of Ferdinand and Isabella. The rebels submit.  
 1479 Treaty with Portugal. Alfonso renounces Juana and she retires to a convent. Death of Juan II of Aragon. Ferdinand succeeds him as Ferdinand II.

## THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE (711-1515 A.D.)

- Garcia Ximenes**, first legendary king. Elected after the battle of Guadalete (711) to defend the country against the Moors, from whom he recovers considerable territory. From him the Navarrese writers derive a series of kings who reigned during the eighth and ninth centuries, but they seem, like Garcia Ximenes himself, to be purely fictitious personages. During this period the district seems to have been subjected either to Asturias or the Frankish empire, probably the latter.  
 778 Charlemagne invades Navarre and seizes Pamplona. On his return to France, after failing before Saragossa, his rearguard under Roland is attacked by troops from Spanish Gascony, including Navarre and other Spanish states, both Christian and Moor, and totally destroyed in the pass of Roncesvalles.  
 806 Pepin, son of Charlemagne, receives the submission of the Navarrese and organises the government of the country.  
 836 **Sancho Iñigo**, count (called by some, king) of Navarre.  
 885 **Garcia I.**  
 891 Moorish invasion. Garcia I is slain. **Fortuño Garces** rules during the minority of Garcia's son, Sancho Garces Abarca.  
 905 **Sancho (I) Garces Abarca.**  
 907 Pamplona besieged by the Moors during Sancho's absence in Gascony. Sancho relieves it after a rapid winter march across the Pyrenees and wins a great victory. Many victories won by Sancho over the Moors and the kingdom extended southwards.  
 920 Sancho retires to a monastery.  
 921 Abd ar-Rahman III invades Navarre and routs the combined forces of Navarre and Leon at the Val-de-Junquera. The Navarrese under Sancho defeat Abd ar-Rahman's forces on their return from a raid into Gascony.  
 925 **Garcia (II), El Tembloso** (the Trembler).

- 951 The king of Navarre in alliance with Fernan Gonsalez, count of Castile, unsuccessfully supports Sancho, prince of Leon, against the latter's brother, Ordoño III of Leon.
- 956 Castile invaded by Garcia, and Fernan taken prisoner.
- 970 **Sancho (II), El Mayor (The Great)**. This king was the most powerful sovereign of Christian Spain at this period. Besides being master of Navarre, Sobrarbe, and Aragon he conquered Castile after the murder of his brother-in-law, the Count Garcia
- 1026 and won the eastern portion of Leon as far as the river Cea from Bermudo III. His second son Ferdinand married Bermudo's sister and heiress, and eventually became sovereign of Leon and Castile (1037). The lordship of Ribagorza was also among Sancho's acquisitions.
- 1034
- 1035 **Garcia III** inherits Navarre and a small district on the south bank of the Ebro, while the rest of the dominions of Sancho the Great are divided among the latter's other sons. Ramiro, to whom Aragon had fallen, invades Navarre as Garcia is on a pilgrimage to Rome, but is driven back. Garcia then aids Ferdinand, who has succeeded to Castile, to triumph over Bermudo III of Leon. But when the latter's defeat and death give Ferdinand the kingdom of Leon, Garcia turns against his brother and allies himself with the emirs of Saragossa and Tudela.
- 1037
- 1054 Battle of Atapuerca. Garcia and his allies defeated and Garcia slain by Ferdinand, who annexes the Navarrese possessions south of the Ebro. **Sancho III**.
- 1076 Murder of Sancho by his brother Raymond and his sister Ermesinda. The murderers expelled from the kingdom. The kings of Aragon and Leon dispute for the crown of Navarre. The king of Leon annexes Rioja. The king of Aragon becomes king of Navarre under the name of **Sancho (IV) Ramirez**.
- 1094 **Pedro (Pedro I of Aragon)**.
- 1104 **Alfonso (Alfonso I of Aragon)**. On his death without issue the Navarrese refuse to recognise his will bequeathing his kingdom to the knightly orders of St. John and the Temple, and elect
- 1134 **Garcia (IV) Ramirez**, a member of the old royal house of Navarre, while the Aragonese prefer Alfonso's brother, Ramiro (I) the Monk. Alfonso (VII) Raymond of Castile and Leon, who assumes the title of emperor of all Spain, receives the homage of Garcia and Ramiro. Garcia becomes a feudatory of Ramiro. Alliance between Garcia and Alfonso, count of Portugal, against Alfonso Raymond. Alfonso Raymond invades Navarre. Garcia acknowledges his supremacy.
- 1140 Alfonso Raymond makes alliance with Aragon for the partition of Navarre and again invades it, while Garcia invades Aragon. After both have won successes, Alfonso and Garcia make peace.
- 1150 **Sancho (V) the Wise**. This king's reign is occupied with obscure and frequent hostilities with the neighbouring states of Aragon, Barcelona, and Castile.
- 1176 The kings of Castile and Navarre refer their differences to Henry II of England. His decision is not acted upon, but a later peace between them embraces the same terms.
- 1179
- 1191 Berengaria, daughter of Sancho V, marries Richard I of England.
- 1194 **Sancho (VI) the Infirm**. He makes alliance with Castile and Leon against the Moors.
- 1195 Battle of Alarcon. Alfonso VIII of Castile defeated by Yakub Al-mansur. Quarrels amongst the allies. Sancho concludes an alliance with the Almohads. Alfonso of Leon takes Guipuzcoa, Alava, and Biscay. Alliance of Navarre, Leon, Aragon, Castile, and Portugal against the Moors, which leads to the defeat of a Moorish army under Muhammed an-Nasir in the
- 1212 Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.
- 1234 **Thibaut I** (Theobald or Teobaldo), count of Champagne, elected king.
- 1239 Seventh Crusade led by Thibaut to Syria. On the defeat of a portion of the army he and the other French princes desert their comrades and return to Spain.
- 1253 **Thibaut II**.
- 1270 Eighth Crusade. Thibaut accompanies St. Louis to the Holy Land and dies on his way home. **Henry Crassus**.
- 1274 **Joan or Jeanne I** succeeds at the age of four. The country reduced to anarchy by disputes between native factions and foreign princes respecting the disposal of her hand.
- 1284 Joan marries Philip IV of France.
- 1305 **Louis Hutin** (Louis X of France) succeeds Joan.
- 1316 **Philip I** (V of France) succeeds, to the prejudice of the daughter of Louis Hutin.
- 1322 **Charles I** (IV of France), brother of Philip I. The Navarrese protest against this reassertion of the Salic law and on Charles' death the crown passes to Louis Hutin's daughter,
- 1328 **Joan II**, with her husband, **Philip II** (count of Évreux), who at their coronation sign a convention securing the independence of Navarre. Massacre of the Jews.

- 1334 War with Castile.
- 1343 Philip joins Alfonso XI of Castile in besieging Algeciras and dies during the siege.
- 1349 **Charles (II) the Bad.** His endeavours to recover the lordships of Brie and Champagne and his murder of the constable of France lead to his imprisonment by the French king. He escapes and is subsequently pardoned.
- 1361 Return of Charles to Navarre. He promises to aid Pedro the Cruel of Castile against Aragon.
- 1366 Alliance of Charles with Edward the Black Prince of Wales to restore Pedro the Cruel. Charles plays fast and loose with the rival kings of Castile and seizes Salvatierra and Logroño for himself.
- 1370 On the accession of Henry II Charles invades Castile.
- 1371 Claims of Navarre to Champagne, Brie, etc., ceded to France in exchange for Montpelier. Charles makes peace with Henry II.
- 1377 Charles accused of plotting to acquire domains in Gascony. His French possessions declared forfeited. The Castilians invade Navarre and besiege Pamplona. Charles makes alliance with the English and on their approach the Castilians retreat.
- 1385 Charles accused of plotting to poison the French royal family. The last remains of his French possessions are seized.
- 1387 **Charles (III) the Noble.**
- 1403 Dukedom of Nemours granted to the king of Navarre.
- 1425 **Blanche**, daughter of Charles the Noble, succeeds with her husband **Juan of Aragon**. He interferes constantly in the internal troubles of Castile, while Blanche governs peaceably during his absence.
- 1432 Juan appointed regent of Aragon in the absence of Alfonso V.
- 1442 **Charles of Viana** succeeds to Navarre as regent on the death of his mother Blanche. The kingdom is distracted by two parties, the Beaumonts, partisans of Charles, and the Agramonts, partisans of his father Juan.
- 1447 Juan marries Juana Henriquez and appoints his wife co-regent of Navarre. She quarrels with Charles.
- 1452 Revolt of Charles. Birth of his half-brother Ferdinand (the Catholic). Battle of Aybar. Juan defeats and captures Charles. Charles is released and returns to Navarre, but finding his enemies too strong for him he withdraws to Naples.
- 1458 Juan succeeds to the throne of Aragon as Juan II. Misunderstanding between father and son continues till
- 1460 Charles negotiates for the hand of Isabella of Castile which was desired for his half-brother Ferdinand of Aragon. Charles is arrested by his father when Catalonia revolts in his favour, and Juan is obliged to
- 1461 recognise him as his heir. The prince dies immediately afterwards.
- 1464 Blanche, Charles' eldest sister, dies, probably poisoned at the instigation of her father by her sister Eleanor, countess of Foix. The country continues to be distracted by the wars of the Beaumonts and Agramonts.
- 1479 **Eleanor de Foix** becomes queen on the death of Juan and dying immediately afterwards is succeeded by her grandson, **Francis Phœbus de Foix**.
- 1483 **Catherine de Foix.** Ferdinand and Isabella endeavour to secure her hand and kingdom for their eldest son, but she marries **Jean d'Albret**.
- 1512 Ferdinand the Catholic demands the cession of six Navarrese fortresses and a free passage through Navarre to facilitate his invasion of Guienne. Treaty of alliance between France and Navarre signed at Blois. Ferdinand's general, the duke of Alva, takes Pamplona and occupies the whole of upper Navarre. Ferdinand's English allies refuse to co-operate with him for the reduction of the rest of the country, and on their withdrawal Jean d'Albret with a French army besieges Alva in Pamplona, but for lack of provisions is compelled to retreat.
- 1513 Treaty between Ferdinand and Louis XII of France by which the latter abandons Navarre. Ferdinand restores order and conciliates the Navarrese towns by confirming their privileges.
- 1515 The cortes of Burgos formally incorporates Navarre into the kingdom of Castile.

## CATALONIA (470-1150 A.D.)

- 470 Gothalandia (Catalonia) was the name bestowed on the northeastern section of Hispania Tarraconensis in consequence of its occupation by the Goths and Alans (470).
- 712 Berbers take possession of the whole Catalonian territory. At the end of the eighth century Charlemagne's troops, under command of Louis le Débonnaire, invade Catalonia, and conquer a district including Barcelona, Lerida, Tarragona, and Tortosa which they call the Marca Hispanica or Spanish Mark. **Bera**, a native of Gothic

- Gaul, becomes count of Barcelona and the Mark, and tyrannises over the country. Counts of Rosello, Ampurias, Besalu, Cerdagne, Pallars, and Urgel appointed. Frequent conflicts with the Moors in which the Frankish armies join and waste the southern districts.
- 814 Death of Charlemagne. Septimania becomes united with the Spanish Mark.
- 826 Bera, being deposed for treasonable dealings with Al Hakim of Cordova, is succeeded as duke of Septimania, by **Bernhard**, son of William of Toulouse, who plays an important rôle in Frankish history.
- 832 Bernhard aids Pepin, king of Aquitaine, in rebellion against Louis le Débonnaire and is deprived of his dignities.
- 836 Bernhard reinstated in his duchy.
- 840 Charles the Bald succeeds to Catalonia on the death of Louis le Débonnaire. Bernhard at first refuses and then offers his allegiance; but afterwards aiming at independence is murdered by Charles. William, Bernhard's son, seeks refuge with Abd ar-Rahman.
- 846 **Aledran** made count of Barcelona by Charles. William wages successful war against him, but is finally murdered. Frankish dominion restored. Narbonensian Gaul is taken from the Spanish Mark and added to Toulouse.
- 852 Barcelona retaken by the Moors. They retain possession during twelve years.
- 858 **Wilfrid I** (Wilfredo or Hunfrido I) count of Barcelona. He takes possession of Toulouse, etc. Summoned to Narbonne to justify himself, he is there slain in a petty fray and is succeeded by
- 872 **Salomon**, who is murdered in revenge for Wilfrid's death by the latter's son.
- 874 **Wilfred (II) the Hairy**, who successfully repels the Moors, makes himself independent of France and leaves his territory to his son
- 907 **Miro**, who bequeaths it to his three sons, **Seniofredo**, **Oliva**, and **Miro**, under the regency of their uncle Suniario, count of Urgel.
- 950 **Seniofredo**.
- 967 **Borello**, son of Suniario.
- 984 **Almansor** takes Barcelona, slaughters the inhabitants, and burns a great part of the city. Borello recovers Barcelona and expels the invaders.
- 993 **Raymond I** repels a Moorish invasion and wins a battle against Suleiman of Cordova which places the usurper Muhammed I on the throne. The Catalauns take the lead in an unsuccessful crusade against the Moorish pirates of the Balearic Islands.
- 1009 **Berengar I** organises the country and grants privileges to Barcelona and other towns.
- 1017 **Raymond II** wins victories over the Moors of Saragossa and becomes sovereign of all Catalonia. He abolishes the old Gothic laws, substituting the
- 1035 *Usages of Catalonia*, and institutes the Peace of God in an assembly of the Estates which is the earliest occasion in European history on which deputies are summoned from the towns. By marriage and purchase he acquires Conflans, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Toulouse, and other French possessions. Bequeaths his dominions to his two sons as joint rulers.
- 1068 **Raymond (III) the Hairy** quarrels with his brother **Berengar**. The nobles effect a settlement whereby each is to reign alternately for six months. Raymond is murdered, probably at Berengar's instigation. Berengar governs alone as guardian for Raymond III's son.
- 1082 **Raymond IV**. Bernard Atto, vicomte de Béziers, usurps the lordship of Carcassonne. The people appeal to Raymond from his oppressions. He becomes a vassal of Raymond. By marriage and inheritance Raymond acquires Besalu (1111), Provence, and Cerdagne (1117), and conquers Majorca. Provence passes on his death to his son Berengar.
- 1131 **Raymond V**.
- 1137 On Raymond's betrothal to Petronilla, daughter of Ramiro the Monk, king of Aragon, he is declared heir to the throne of Aragon and assumes the administration of that kingdom.
- 1150 Marriage of Raymond and Petronilla confirms union of Catalonia and Aragon.

#### THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON FROM ITS RISE TILL ITS UNION WITH CASTILE (1035-1479 A.D.)

- 1035 On the death of Sancho el Mayor of Navarre his territories are divided among his sons, and **Ramiro I** succeeds to a small Pyrenean district called Aragon in the north-western corner of the modern province in the territory of the ancient Vascones. Ramiro by his wars with the Moors extends his borders, absorbing Sobrarbe and

- Ribagorza, and reducing several Moorish governors to the condition of tributaries. He consents to adopt the Roman ritual and to send tribute to the pope.
- 1067 **Sancho Ramirez.**
- 1076 On the murder of Sancho III of Navarre, Sancho Ramirez and Alfonso VI of Castile invade Navarre, and Sancho becomes king of Navarre as Sancho IV. He conquers several cities from the Moors, commences a war with the emir of Saragossa, and dies while besieging Huesca.
- 1094 **Pedro I.**
- 1096 Battle of Alcoraz. Pedro wins a decisive victory over the Moors of Saragossa and their Castilian allies, and takes Huesca.
- 1104 **Alfonso (I), el Batallador (the Fighter), and the Emperor.**
- 1109 Death of Alfonso VI of Castile. His daughter Urraca, the wife of Alfonso I, el Batallador, succeeds, and her husband is acknowledged as Alfonso VII of Leon and Castile. He quarrels with his wife, and constant civil war is the result to Castile.
- 1118 Saragossa taken by el Batallador after a five years' siege. It becomes the capital of Aragon.
- 1120 Battle of Daroca. El Batallador defeats an Almoravid army, takes Tarragona and Calatayud, and invades Andalusia.
- 1126 Death of Urraca. Castile is definitely separated from Aragon under Alfonso VII (Raymond) of Castile and Leon, Urraca's son by her first husband.
- 1130 Bordeaux besieged and taken by Alfonso I. He resumes his war against the Moors.
- 1133 Representatives of the cities summoned to the cortes.
- 1134 Alfonso is defeated at Fraga and dies soon after, bequeathing his dominions to the knights of the Temple and St. John. His subjects refuse to recognise his will and his brother, **Ramiro (II) the Monk**, is persuaded to leave his monastery and accept the crown of Aragon, while the Navarrese choose Garcia (IV) Ramirez as king.
- 1137 **Petronilla**, Ramiro's infant daughter, betrothed to **Raymond**, count of Catalonia, who is appointed regent of Aragon. Catalonia thus becomes absorbed in Aragon, and Ramiro retires to a cloister.
- 1140 Navarre invaded by Raymond in conjunction with Alfonso VII of Castile, but without success, and on the conclusion of peace the three sovereigns make alliance against the Moors and capture various cities, Raymond acquiring Fraga, Lerida, and Tortosa.
- 1150 Marriage of Raymond and Petronilla.
- 1162 Death of Raymond. Petronilla abdicates in favour of her son **Alfonso II**, who acquires Roussillon by inheritance and wins Teruel and other fortresses from the Moors. In this reign cortes were held and attended by the four estates of the realm (1163, 1164).
- 1196 **Pedro II.**
- 1203 Coronation of Pedro by the pope. Aragon is constituted a papal fief, and Pedro promises to pay tribute to the holy see, but
- 1205 the estates of Saragossa repudiate the transaction.
- 1208 The Albigensian crusade. Pedro refuses to declare for either party, but turns his arms against the Moors and shares the glory at the great Christian victory of
- 1212 Las Navas de Tolosa.
- 1213 He endeavours to mediate between the Albigensians and the crusaders, but fails and lays siege to the latter's city of Muret, when he is slain in a battle with Simon de Montfort. **James (I) the Conqueror**, known as Don Jayme of Aragon (in Catalan En Jacme, lo Conqueridor), succeeds at the age of six. The usual civil wars occupy his minority, but finally he triumphs over all rebels.
- 1228 Balearic Islands, the haunt of Moorish pirates, attacked and subdued after a four years' war.
- 1232 Valencia invaded.
- 1238 Conquest of Valencia completed. The Moors are guaranteed security and religious liberty.
- 1264-1266 Murcia reconquered by James for his son-in-law, Alfonso X of Castile.
- 1268 By the execution of Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, Constanza, wife of James' son, Pedro (III), and daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily, becomes heiress of Sicily, now in the hands of the usurper, Charles of Anjou.
- 1269 Preparations for a crusade to the Holy Land headed by James. The king is turned back by a storm, but his son, Fernan Sanchez, proceeds to Acre. Like Alfonso X of Castile, James left a chronicle or commentary of his reign (afterwards continued by Raymond Muntaner), as well as a book of aphorisms called the *Libre de Saviesa*, both written in the Catalan language.
- 1276 **Pedro (III) the Great.** The Balearic Islands with Roussillon, Montpellier, etc., are converted by the will of James I into a separate kingdom of Majorca for his younger son, James I of Majorca. Pedro prepares to invade Sicily.



- 1282 The Sicilian Vespers, in which the native population massacre twenty-eight thousand Frenchmen. Charles of Anjou lays siege to Messina. Pedro of Aragon comes to its relief and is proclaimed king of Sicily. Roger de Lauria, Pedro's admiral, with a few ships destroys the French fleet.
- 1283 The Aragonese cortes protest against the king's wars and exact the *General Privilege*, the Magna Charta of Aragon, confirming their liberties. The pope excommunicates Pedro. De Lauria takes Malta and destroys the fleet in the Bay of Naples. The pope, Martin IV, proclaims a crusade against Aragon and bestows the kingdom on the French prince, Charles of Valois. The Aragonese are reluctant to oppose Rome.
- 1285 The crusaders invade the kingdom, but after taking and sacking several cities the army breaks up. Charles of Anjou dies, leaving his claims to his son Charles II. Pedro dies, leaving Sicily to his younger son James and Aragon to **Alfonso III**. Majorca subdued by Alfonso.
- 1287 The "Privilege of Union" granted, authorising armed rebellion against the sovereign who shall infringe his subjects' liberties.
- 1291 As a result of negotiations conducted by Edward I of England, Alfonso is reconciled to the pope and Sicily is abandoned by James, who immediately after, on the death of Alfonso, succeeds to Aragon as **James II**. He makes his brother Frederick (Fadrigue) his lieutenant in Sicily.
- 1295 Alliance between James and Charles of Anjou.
- 1296 The pope invests James with Sardinia and Corsica, occupied at the time by the Genoese and Pisans. The deserted Sicilians give the crown to Frederick. The king of Aragon assists Charles in his attempts to recover Sicily, but abandons the enterprise after several successes.
- 1302 Peace between Frederick and Charles by which the former retains Sicily, the latter Naples.
- 1303 The Catalan Grand Company is formed by Roger di Flor from the disbanded mercenaries (chiefly Aragonese and Catalan) of Frederick and takes service with the Greek emperor Andronicus II.
- 1319 Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia declared inseparable.
- 1324 Sardinia invaded by James. With the aid of the grand justice of Arborea, Marian IV, the Pisans are expelled. The grand justice turns his arms against the Aragonese and the war is continued under
- 1327 **Alfonso IV**, when the Genoese assist the islanders and ravage the coasts of Catalonia.
- 1336 **Pedro IV** refuses to recognise the claims of his stepmother, Leonora of Castile, and her sons, Juan and Ferdinand, to the appanages assigned them under Alfonso's will, and thus involves himself in civil disputes and a war with Castile. He offends the clergy by crowning himself instead of being crowned by the archbishop of Saragossa.
- 1343 Invasion of Majorca by Pedro. The islanders welcome him, deserting James II of Majorca. Pedro conquers James' French possessions.
- 1344 Balearic Islands formally annexed to Aragon.
- 1347 Attempt of Pedro to secure the succession to his daughter Constanza in preference to his brother James, in defiance of the Salic law as established by James I. League of nobles and cities in a union in favor of James. The Sardinians backed by the Genoese and Pisans seize the occasion to revolt. A second union formed in Valencia under the infante Ferdinand. At the cortes of Saragossa Pedro is compelled to promise to hold annual meetings of the estates, to select his advisers with their approval, and to recognise James as his heir. Death of James. Pedro wins over the Catalans and at the
- 1348 battle of Epila defeats the union. He annuls the "Privilege of Union" of 1287, but enlarges the powers of the justiciar. Leonora and her son Juan take refuge in Castile, where both are subsequently murdered by Pedro the Cruel.
- 1349 James of Majorca attempts to recover the Balearic Islands, but fails and dies soon after. Pedro defeats the Sardinian rebels, and allies himself with Venice against Genoa.
- 1350 The era of Spain ceases to be used in Aragon.
- 1352 The Venetian and Catalan fleets defeated by the Genoese, who renew their encouragement of the Sardinians. The Genoese fleet defeated in the Thracian Bosphorus by the fleets of Catalonia and Venice.
- 1354 The Sardinian estates are convoked by Pedro at Cagliari, but fail to pacify the belligerents.
- 1356 War with Castile. The king of Aragon supports Henry of Trastamara and the other Castilian rebels.
- 1363 A peace concluded with Castile in accordance with which Pedro of Aragon murders his own brother Ferdinand. War with Castile renewed.

- 1368 The justice of Arborea defeats the Aragonese in Sardinia and maintains himself till the Genoese come to his aid (1373). After his death the struggle is continued with less vigour by his son, and when the latter is put to death by his own people the war is prosecuted by his sister Leonora with whom Pedro effects an agreement in 1386.
- 1377 Death of Frederick king of Sicily. Pedro claims the throne, but is eventually satisfied with the marriage of the heiress Maria with his grandson Martin.
- 1387 **Juan I.** Trial of the king's stepmother Sybilla for witchcraft. Some of her friends executed.
- 1392 Aragonese troops under the king's brother Martin sent to Sicily to quell a revolt against Queen Maria and her husband, Martin's son, the younger Martin.
- 1395 **Martin** succeeds to Aragon. The count de Foix, husband of the late king's eldest daughter, invades the kingdom to assert her rights, but finds no supporters. Martin, having pacified Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, returns to Spain. Pope Boniface IX, in revenge for the recognition by Aragon of the anti-pope Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna), confers Sardinia and Sicily on the count de Molinets.
- 1401 Death of Maria of Sicily. She is succeeded by her husband, the younger Martin, who, the following year, marries Blanche, heiress of Navarre.
- 1409 Martin of Sicily suppresses the rebellion in Sardinia. He dies without issue. Blanche becomes regent of Sicily.
- 1410 **Interregnum**, consequent on the death of Martin of Aragon without direct heirs. During two years the country is distracted by the conflicts of rival claimants to the throne till, at the instance of the justiciar Juan de Cerda, a commission is selected from the cortes of the three provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia which names the infante Ferdinand, regent of Castile, and he receives the crowns of Aragon and Sicily as
- 1412 **Ferdinand (I) the Just.** He subdues a rebellion of the count of Urgel and maintains tranquillity in the kingdom till his death in
- 1416 when he is succeeded by his son **Alfonso (V) the Magnanimous.**
- 1417 Reduction of Corsica attempted by Alfonso without much success.
- 1420 Joanna, queen of Naples, adopts Alfonso on condition of his defending her dominions against the duke of Anjou, which he does with success.
- 1423 Joanna quarrels with Alfonso and adopts Louis of Anjou in his place.
- 1425 Death of Charles III of Navarre. He is succeeded by Blanche and her husband Juan, brother of Alfonso of Aragon.
- 1432 Juan appointed regent of Aragon. Alfonso sets out to recover Naples.
- 1435 Joanna of Naples dies, bequeathing her kingdom to René of Anjou. Alfonso besieges Gaeta, but is defeated in a naval battle. Himself, the king of Navarre, and his brother Henry become the prisoners of the duke of Milan, who immediately releases them. Don Pedro of Aragon takes Gaeta. In the next few years Alfonso makes himself master of the kingdom of Naples.
- 1442 The office of justiciar declared tenable for life. Blanche of Navarre dies. Juan retains the title of king of Navarre, while her son, Charles of Viana, becomes ruler.
- 1443 Ferdinand, Alfonso's illegitimate son, recognised as heir of Naples by Pope Eugenius IV.
- 1447 Juan of Navarre marries Juana Henriquez and subsequently appoints her co-regent of Navarre. She quarrels with Charles of Viana.
- 1452 Battle of Aybar. Juan defeats and captures Charles. Reconciliation of Juan and Charles. Birth of Juan's younger son, Ferdinand the Catholic.
- 1458 Death of Alfonso V. Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia pass to the king of Navarre, **Juan II.** Charles of Viana refuses to supplant Ferdinand of Naples.
- 1461 Charles imprisoned by his father. The Catalans revolt in his favour and compel his recognition as Juan's heir. Death of Charles.
- 1462 The Catalans declare a republic and besiege the queen and Ferdinand in Gerona. Roussillon and Cerdagne pledged to Louis XI of France, who comes to the help of Juan; whereupon the rebels offer the Catalan crown first to Henry IV of Castile and then to Pedro, constable of Portugal.
- 1466 Pedro dies. The Catalans offer the crown to René of Anjou who
- 1467 sends his son John of Calabria to Barcelona.
- 1468 Ferdinand declared king of Sicily and associated with his father in the government of Aragon.
- 1469 Marriage of Ferdinand with Isabella of Castile.
- 1470 Death of John of Calabria. Catalonia is gradually reduced.
- 1472 Barcelona submits.
- 1473 The inhabitants of Roussillon revolt against the French and massacre them. Roussillon occupied by Juan. The French besiege him in Perpignan, which is relieved by Ferdinand. By a treaty with Louis the king of Aragon promises to pay within the year the sum for which Roussillon was pledged.

## A BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF SPANISH HISTORY

- 1474 The French invade Roussillon.
- 1475 Perpignan surrenders to the French. The inhabitants compelled to emigrate.
- 1479 Death of Juan II. Ferdinand (II) the Catholic inherits his dominions which are henceforth united with those of Castile.

## ANDORRA (805-1882 A.D.)

- 805 The valley of Andorra appears in history as a neutral country, Charlemagne founding the free state and placing it under the lordship of Urgel.
- 1170 Suzerainty of Andorra ceded by the counts of Urgel to the counts of Castelbo. The heiress of Castelbo marries the count de Foix.
- 1278 Suzerainty of Andorra divided between the counts de Foix and the bishops of Urgel.
- 1512 On the extinction of the house of Foix by the death of Count Gaston at the battle of Ravenna, the suzerainty of Andorra passes to Henry d'Albret, titular heir of Navarre, and on the accession of the latter's grandson to the throne of France as Henry IV, becomes the prerogative of the French crown.
- 1790 Independence of Andorra recognised. The republic voluntarily returns to the French allegiance.
- 1866 The general council, hitherto composed of the aristocracy, becomes elective.
- 1882 A permanent delegate appointed to represent French authority in Andorra.

## SPAIN AFTER THE UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON (1479-1902, A.D.)

- 1480 Cortes of Toledo. Recall of illegal grants by which in Henry IV's reign the public revenues had been alienated in pensions and annuities. The nobles forbidden to erect castles or assume the insignia of royalty. Duelling prohibited.
- 1481 The Inquisition issues an edict requiring the accusation of heretics. *Autos da fé* in Andalusia. Epidemic of plague. Emigration of Jews.
- 1482 Alhama after being captured from the Moors by the marquis of Cadiz is besieged by the king of Granada and relieved by Ferdinand. Zahara seized and its inhabitants enslaved by Abul Hassan, king of Granada. Bull of Pope Sixtus IV promising the appointment of Castilians to church dignities in their country. Loja unsuccessfully besieged by Ferdinand.
- 1483 Thomas de Torquemada inquisitor-general in Castile and Aragon to reconstitute the holy office. An insurrection makes Abu Abdallah (Boabdil) king of Granada. Ferdinand's ambassadors assist in negotiating a peace between Ferrara and Venice. The pope declares a crusade against Granada. Rout in the Axarquia; a small Spanish force is destroyed by the troops of Abul Hassan. Boabdil invades the Christian territory. He is defeated and taken at the Jenil, released and becomes a tributary of Ferdinand. Ferdinand and Isabella begin a series of successful campaigns against Granada and capture one fortress after another.
- 1484 Inquisition revived in Aragon. Columbus arrives in Spain.
- 1485 *Ordenanças Reales*, a code of Castilian laws, promulgated. *Autos da fé* in Saragossa. Murder of the inquisitor, Arbues, by Jewish converts. Sanguinary punishment of all implicated.
- 1486 Catalan peasantry, called vassals *de remenza*, released from serfdom under the obligation of an annual payment.
- 1487 Velez Malaga, Malaga, and other cities capitulate to Ferdinand. He enslaves the Malagans.
- 1488 Alliance between Spain and Maximilian, king of the Romans, against France.
- 1489 Baza besieged and taken. Almeria submits.
- 1491 Law to prevent the export of the precious metals. Siege and capitulation of Granada. Boabdil confined to a narrow district in the Alpujarras. The Granadans guaranteed the preservation of their religion and their liberty.
- 1492 Expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Columbus persuades Isabella to grant him assistance. He is made admiral, viceroy, and governor-general of all territories he may discover. An expedition is fitted out and he starts on the 3rd of August with three vessels. Treaty with France. Charles VIII engages to restore Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon.
- 1493 Return of Columbus reporting the discovery of Hispaniola. Pope Alexander VI issues a bull confirming the sovereigns of Spain in possession of all their discoveries, past and future, in the west. A second bull divides the area for Portuguese and Spanish discoveries by a line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores. Second expedition of Columbus with seventeen vessels.

- 1494 Agreement with Portugal at Tordesillas by which the boundary of the Portuguese area of discovery is removed 370 leagues west of Cape Verd Islands. The pope confers the epithet of "Catholic" on Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 1495 League of Venice between Spain, Austria, Rome, Milan, and Venice for the expulsion of the French from Italy.
- 1496 Spanish troops under Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, restore Ferdinand II of Naples to his throne and expel the French. Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, marries Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian. Militia ordinance requiring one-twelfth of the male population between the ages of twenty and forty-five to enlist for the military and police service of Spain. Santo Domingo founded. Columbus returns from his second voyage.
- 1497 Death of Juan, only son of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 1498 Third voyage of Columbus. He lands on the South American continent. The Santa Hermandad, having restored order in Spain, reduced to the position of an ordinary police.
- 1499 Ximenes de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, sets about the conversion of the Moors of Granada. He burns their books. Insurrection in Granada. Many Moors quit Spain. The remainder forcibly converted.
- 1500 Francisco Bobadilla sent out to investigate affairs in Hispaniola. He imprisons Columbus and sends him home in irons. Revolt of the Moors in the Alpujarras severely repressed. Treaty with France for the partition of Naples. Gonsalvo de Cordova recovers St. George in Cephalonia which the Turks had wrested from Venice. A navigation act prohibits the exportation of goods in foreign ships when Spanish are procurable, and forbids the sale of ships to foreigners. Columbus restored to his honours.

*Sixteenth Century*

- The Moors of Ronda revolt and
- 1501 destroy a Spanish force under Alonso de Aguilar. On Ferdinand's approach they submit and are granted the alternative of exile or baptism. Gonsalvo de Cordova conquers Calabria.
- 1502 Expulsion from Spain of all unconverted Moors. Nicholas de Ovando sent to replace Bobadilla. Tarentum occupied by the Great Captain after a long siege. Fourth voyage of Columbus. The French declare war against the Spaniards and conquer all Calabria.
- 1503 Treaty of peace with France signed at Lyons. Battle of Cerignola. Gonsalvo defeats the French and occupies Naples. The French invade Roussillon, but are forced to retreat by Ferdinand, who takes several frontier fortresses. Gonsalvo defeats the French at the Garigliano.
- 1504 Peace of Lyons. The French abandon Naples to Spain. Death of Isabella. Philip I and Juana la Loca or the Mad proclaimed her successors in Castile. Ferdinand assumes the administration in accordance with Isabella's will and on the ground of Juana's mental incapacity. Columbus returns from his last voyage.
- 1506 Death of Columbus. Ferdinand resigns the government of Castile to Philip, who excites discontent by his extravagance and his Flemish favourites. The proceeding of the Inquisition excite disturbances in Andalusia. Death of Philip. Ferdinand receives the homage of the Neapolitans.
- 1507 Ferdinand resumes the government of Castile. Ximenes appointed inquisitor-general of Castile.
- 1508 Ferdinand joins the league of Cambray formed by the French king and the emperor against Venice and retakes five Neapolitan cities pledged to Venice.
- 1509 An expedition led to Africa by Ximenes conquers Oran.
- 1511 Holy League between Pope Julius II, Ferdinand, and Venice to drive the French from Italy. Conquest of Cuba.
- 1512 Battle of Ravenna. The allies defeated by the French under Gaston de Foix. Gaston slain; the French retreat from Italy. Venice makes peace with France. Ferdinand demands a free passage through Navarre for the invasion of France. Alliance between France and Navarre. Pamplona taken by the Spaniards. Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, fails to recover it.
- 1513 Navarre submits to Ferdinand. Florida discovered by Ponce de Leon. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
- 1515 Navarre formally incorporated with Castile.
- 1516 Ferdinand dies. Ximenes regent of Castile, and the archbishop of Saragossa regent of Aragon. Charles I (afterwards the emperor Charles V) proclaimed king in Castile. French invasion of Navarre repulsed. The Inquisition is established in

- Oran, the Canaries, and the New World. Las Casas obtains the sending of a commission to inquire into the ill-treatment of the Indians in Hispaniola. It effects little. Peace of Noyon. France abandons her claims to Naples.
- 1517 Charles lands in Spain and dismisses Ximenes.
- 1518 The Castilian cortes acknowledge Charles as joint ruler with his mother. Aragon and Catalonia delay to do this. The favour shown his Flemish favourites and their exactions disgust the Spaniards.
- 1519 Ferdinand Cortes begins the conquest of Mexico. Several leading Castilian cities form a confederation to defend their privileges. Death of the emperor Maximilian. Charles elected emperor of Germany.
- 1520 The citizens of Valencia revolt against the oppressions of the nobles and are authorised by Charles to continue in arms. They form an association called the *Germandada* (Germania) or brotherhood. Luther burns the papal bull excommunicating him. The Castilian cortes with difficulty induced to grant a subsidy. Charles, having appointed Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht his viceroy, leaves Spain without redressing the grievances submitted to him. Several of the cities of Castile, under the leadership of Juan de Padilla, revolt against their deputies, appoint their own magistrates, levy troops, and league together as the "holy junta." Padilla goes to Juana at Tordesillas. The junta acts in her name. The royalists rescue Juana. The *Germandada* in Valencia carries on a successful and devastating war against the nobles.
- 1521 Battle of Villalar. Padilla defeated, taken, and executed. Valencia taken and the leaders of the *Germandada* executed. Charles opens the Diet of Worms. Treaty of Charles with the pope for the expulsion of the French from the Milanese. The junta breaks up; Toledo holds out for a time under Padilla's widow. Its fall signals the end of the freedom of the Castilian cities. Conquest of Mexico completed by Cortes. Navarre occupied by the French. They invade Castile. The Castilians recover Navarre. The populace of Majorca, having revolted against the nobles, are subdued after a long struggle. Treaty with Henry VIII of England. Charles agrees to invade France from Spain. The emperor's troops drive the French from Milan. Death of Leo X.
- 1522 Adrian of Utrecht elected pope as Adrian VI. The French fail in an attempt to recover the Milanese. League between Charles, the pope, Venice, and other Italian cities against France.
- 1523 The cortes grant supplies before presenting their petitions. Adrian VI dies. Clement VII pope. Ferdinand Cortes empowered to conquer all New Spain.
- 1524 The council of the Indies formed for the administration of the Spanish colonies. The Moors of Valencia request permission to exercise their own worship. On being refused many emigrate, and others revolt and are not finally subdued till 1526. Expulsion of the French from the Milanese. Francis I of France attempts to recover it and is defeated and taken by the imperial troops at the
- 1525 battle of Pavia.
- 1526 The Moors of Granada permitted to purchase freedom from the worst penalties of the Inquisition. Treaty of Madrid. Francis resigns his claims in Italy, Flanders, and Artois and concludes a perpetual league with Charles. Holy League of Cognac between the pope, France, England, Venice, and Sforza, duke of Milan, to restore Sforza to the Milanese. The pope and the French attack Naples.
- 1527 Charles' troops ravage the papal territories and take Rome. Sack of Rome. Clement taken prisoner. The cortes refuse a grant to Charles.
- 1528 The French besiege Naples, but are driven by disease to retreat.
- 1529 Battle of Landriano. Spaniards defeat the French. Francis Pizarro commissioned to conquer and govern Peru. Treaty of Cambrai called "The Ladies' Peace." Francis I agrees to ransom his sons and resign his pretensions to Flanders, Artois, and all places in Italy. Charles goes to Italy, makes peace with Venice, and with the dukes of Milan and Ferrara.
- 1530 Charles receives the iron crown of Lombardy and is crowned emperor by the pope. Florence taken. Charles makes Alessandro de' Medici its absolute ruler. He summons the Diet of Augsburg to settle religious questions and prepare for war with the Turks.
- 1531 Ferdinand, brother of Charles, elected king of the Romans.
- 1533 Pizarro establishes his authority in the capital of Peru.
- 1535 Expedition to Tunis in conjunction with Portugal, Genoa, the pope, and the knights of Malta. The usurper Barbarossa is expelled and the king Mulei Hassan restored as a vassal of Spain. Ten thousand Christian slaves released. Francis I invades Savoy. Its duke appeals to Charles. Death of the duke of Milan. Charles takes possession of the duchy. Colony of Buenos Ayres founded by Pedro de Mendoza.

- 1536 Francis occupies Piedmont. Provence invaded by Charles, who finds it already desolated by the French, and retreats in disorder.
- 1537 French invasion of the Netherlands. Truce with France.
- 1538 It is extended for ten years (Truce of Nice). Mutiny amongst Charles' troops in Milan, Sicily, and Africa. Their generals borrow money to pacify them. Cortes of Toledo. The deputies protest against the extravagance of Charles' foreign wars, and the nobles claim their privilege of exemption from taxation. Charles dismisses the estates. This was the last occasion on which nobles and prelates were summoned. The cortes was henceforth reduced to a meeting of the deputies of eighteen cities.
- 1539 Revolt of the citizens of Ghent.
- 1540 Charles marches to Ghent and represses the rebellion with great severity. Order of Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, is confirmed by the pope.
- 1541 The ambassadors of France murdered by Charles' governor of the Milanese. Francis I demands reparation and prepares for war. Expedition led by Charles against the pirates of Algiers. Great part of the fleet destroyed in a storm. The army returns, having accomplished nothing. Conquest of Chili begun and Santiago founded by Pedro de Valdivia.
- 1542 Perpignan besieged by the French and successfully defended by the duke of Alva.
- 1543 Alliance with Henry VIII. War between Charles and Francis in the Netherlands.
- 1544 Battle of Cerisole in Piedmont. The imperialists are defeated by the French. Charles invades France in conjunction with Henry VIII. Peace of Crespy. Charles renounces all claim to Burgundy and Francis to Naples, Flanders, and Artois.
- 1545 The pope grants Charles half the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain.
- 1547 Battle of Mühlberg. Charles defeats the Smalkaldic League.
- 1551 League between Henry II of France and the Protestant princes of Germany.
- 1552 Charles compelled to fly from Innsbruck. The French seize Toul, Verdun, and Metz. By the Peace of Passau, Charles grants religious liberty to the German Protestants. Charles besieges Metz but fails to take it.
- 1554 Charles cedes Naples to his son Philip. Philip marries Mary, queen of England.
- 1555 Philip invested with the sovereignty of the Netherlands.
- 1556 Philip invested with the sovereignty of Spain as **Philip II**. His possessions embrace Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Franche-Comté, the Netherlands, Tunis, the Barbary coast, Canaries, Cape Verd Islands, Philippines, Spice Islands, West Indian colonies and territories in Mexico and Peru. Truce of Vaucelles arranges five years' peace with France. Charles resigns the empire to his brother Ferdinand and retires to San Yuste. Pope Paul IV persuades Henry II of France to break the truce of Vaucelles and excommunicates Charles and Philip. Alva invades the papal states.
- 1557 Philip visits England and persuades Mary to declare war on France. St. Quentin captured by Spaniards and English. Peace with Paul IV.
- 1558 Spanish victory of Gravelines. Death of Charles V. Death of Mary of England.
- 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis between Spain and England and France. Philip marries Elizabeth of France. Margaret of Parma regent of the Netherlands. Philip assembles a force to recover Tripoli for the Knights of Malta.
- 1560 It captures Los Gelves in the Gulf of Khabes. A Turkish fleet routs the Spaniards, and takes sixty-five vessels.
- 1561 A new fleet, collected to oppose the Turks, dispersed and partly destroyed by a storm. Turks ravage the Spanish coast.
- 1563 The Castilian cortes protest in vain against the Inquisition. The Moriscos forbidden to carry arms.
- 1564 The pirate stronghold of Peñon de los Velez in Fez captured.
- 1565 Siege of Malta by the Turks. The Spanish fleet relieves Malta.
- 1566 The Flemish nobles band together under the name of the "Gueux" to resist the Inquisition. Tumult and wrecking of Catholic churches. The rebellion suppressed.
- 1567 The prince of Orange goes over to the Protestants. The duke of Alva succeeds Margaret of Parma as regent of the Netherlands and institutes a reign of terror. The Spanish Moriscos forbidden their distinctive costume, language, and customs.
- 1568 The Aragonese cortes wring from Philip an act limiting ecclesiastical interference in civil causes. Death of Philip's only son Don Carlos. The "Gueux" defeated at Jemmingen. Revolt of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras. They devastate Granada and are defeated by the governor, Mondejar, in the
- 1569 pass of Alfajarali; massacre of the rebels. The English seize the Spanish treasure ships. Don John of Austria, son of Charles V, commissioned to end the Morisco war.
- 1570 He takes Golera. Moriscos expelled from Andalusia.
- 1571 League of Spain, Rome, and Venice against the Turks. Battle of Lepanto. The allies under Don John crush the naval power of the Turks.



- 1572 Briel and Mons captured by the Gueux. The states of Holland declare the prince of Orange stadholder of Holland, Friesland, and Zeeland. Successes of Alva.
- 1573 The supplies furnished by the Castilian cortes declared a tribute legally due to the sovereign. Defeat of Alva's fleet. Alva recalled. Tunis captured by Don John. He adds to the fortifications.
- 1574 The Turks recover Tunis and massacre the garrison.
- 1576 "Spanish fury" or sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards. By the pacification of Ghent, the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands agree to unite to defend their liberties and expel the Spaniards. Don John sent to govern the Netherlands.
- 1577 By the Perpetual Edict Philip recognises the Pacification of Ghent. The southern provinces of the Netherlands withdraw from the union.
- 1578 Battle of Gembloux. Don John and Alessandro Farnese defeat the revolted Netherlanders. Death of Don John. Death of Sebastian, king of Portugal. Philip claims the throne.
- 1579 Union of Utrecht between the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands.
- 1580 Death of Henry of Portugal. Portugal conquered and reduced to a province of Spain. Spaniards join a papal invasion of Ireland and are massacred at Smerwick.
- 1581 The Netherlands declare their independence.
- 1584 Farnese takes Ghent.
- 1585 The Catholic party in France, headed by the Guises, forms a league with Philip for the extirpation of heresy in France and the Low Countries. Farnese reduces Antwerp. England sends help to the United Provinces.
- 1587 Drake burns the shipping at Cadiz.
- 1588 The Spanish Armada sails, is defeated by the English, and dispersed by storms.
- 1589 Farnese repulsed from Bergen-op-Zoom. An expedition from England under the Portuguese claimant Don Antonio invades Portugal, pillages Corunna, and retreats. Perez arraigned for the murder of Escovedo. He escapes to Aragon and appeals to its *fueros* (privileges). His prosecution abandoned.
- 1590 Increase of the excise on food, termed "the millions." Battle of Ivry; Henry IV of France defeats the league and its Spanish auxiliaries. Philip claims the French throne for his daughter by Elizabeth of Valois. A Spanish force under Farnese is sent to the relief of Paris, but quarrels with the league.
- 1591 Perez arrested by the Inquisition. The mob rise against it. Perez escapes to France. Philip punishes the rioters who had attacked the Inquisition. Its power increases. Part of *fueros* of Aragon abolished.
- 1592 Farnese relieves Rouen, is deserted by the league, and escapes from Henry IV with heavy loss.
- 1594 Groningen, the last stronghold of the Spaniards in the United Provinces, taken by the stadholder.
- 1596 Cadiz sacked by Essex.
- 1597 The stadholder defeats the Spaniards at Turnhout. Philip repudiates his debts.
- 1598 Peace of Vervins with Henry IV. Death of Philip. The Netherlands pass to his daughter Isabella, and the rest of his possessions to his son **Philip III.**
- 1599 A second armada sails for England and is beaten back by a storm.

#### Seventeenth Century

- 1601 Increase of "the millions." An expedition sent to assist Tyrone in Ireland fails.
- 1602 Persia joins Spain in a war against Turkey. Plundering of the coast and islands in the Mediterranean.
- 1604 Peace with England. The "archdukes" (Isabella and her husband Albert) capture Ostend after a three years' siege.
- 1605 First part of *Don Quixote* published.
- 1607 Spanish fleet destroyed in a fight with the Dutch off Gibraltar. Eight months' truce with the United Provinces. Spain and the "archdukes" resign their claims to the provinces.
- 1609 Twelve years' truce with the United Provinces. The Moriscos expelled from Spain with the loss of all property save what they could carry with them. With them Spain loses her most industrious inhabitants. Henry IV of France organises a league against Spain in conjunction with the Italian states, England, the German Protestants, and the United Provinces.
- 1610 Murder of Henry IV.
- 1612 Philip's daughter Anne married to Louis XIII and his son Philip to Elizabeth de Bourbon. The princesses renounce their respective claims to the kingdoms of Spain and France.

- 1615 The duke of Savoy invades Lombardy and is defeated by Hinojosa, viceroy of Milan. The war continued to 1617, when peace was signed at Pavia. Second part of *Don Quixote* published.
- 1617 Alsace ceded to Spain by Ferdinand of Austria.
- 1618 Battle of Gravosa. The duke of Osuna, viceroy of Naples, defeats the Venetian fleet. Fall of Lerma, Philip's favourite. The war with Venice continues till the recall of Osuna.
- 1620 Battle of the White Hill. Spanish troops aid the imperialists to defeat the elector palatine. The Spaniards under Spinola overrun the Palatinate and expel the elector.
- 1621 **Philip IV** succeeds his father. Olivares becomes all-powerful. The cortes of Castile calls attention to the extravagance of the administration, the appalling misery in the country, and the ruinous system of taxation. Attempts to curb official corruption. Expiration of the truce with the United Provinces. Spinola sent to conquer the Netherlands. He takes Juliers.
- 1622 Negotiation with England for the marriage of the infanta Maria to Prince Charles. James I asks for a Spanish army to assist the elector palatine. Charles arrives in Madrid.
- 1623 Enormous subsidy demanded by Olivares. The cities resist. Increase of taxation. Marriage-treaty signed. Charles leaves Spain.
- 1624 Franco-Dutch alliance. The French drive the Spanish garrisons from the Valtelline. Spain allied with Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Genoa.
- 1625 Spinola takes Breda. Genoa threatened by the French and saved by Spain.
- 1626 Peace of Monçon between France and Spain. The Valtelline relinquished to the Grisons.
- 1628 Spanish treasure fleet captured by the Dutch.
- 1629 Peace with England. France and Spain support rival candidates to the duchy of Mantua. French successes. Spinola sent to Lombardy.
- 1630 He lays siege to Casale. Death of Spinola. The Buccaneers seize the island of Tortuga and make it the headquarters of their pirate bands.
- 1631 Treaty of Cherasco with France.
- 1632 Frederick Henry of Orange expels the Spaniards from the United Provinces. The archduchess Isabella resigns in favour of Philip IV. Orange captures Maastricht. Philip makes a treaty with the duke of Orleans, in rebellion against France.
- 1633 A Spanish army sent to aid the emperor.
- 1634 Battle of Nördlingen. The Spaniards under the cardinal infante, brother of Philip, aid in defeating the Protestant Swedes and Germans. Treves attacked and the elector carried off by the Spaniards. France declares war on Spain and forms an alliance with the United Provinces. Joint invasion of the Spanish-Netherlands repelled by the cardinal infante. The Milanese invaded by the French.
- 1636 The French expelled from the Milanese.
- 1637 Leucate unsuccessfully besieged by the Spaniards. Breda captured by Orange.
- 1638 The French under Condé invade Spain and are totally defeated before Fuenterrabia. The Spaniards take Bremi and Vercelli and ravage Piedmont.
- 1639 Alsace falling to France on the death of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the communication between Italy and the Netherlands is interrupted. Salsas in Roussillon taken by Condé and recovered by the Spaniards. The Spanish fleet takes refuge in the Downs under the neutral flag of England but is attacked and destroyed by Van Tromp. Spaniards expelled from Piedmont.
- 1640 Troops billeted on the Catalans and levies demanded from them. Revolt in consequence. The insurgents seize Barcelona. Revolution in Portugal. João of Braganza assumes the crown. He enters into relations with France, Holland, and the rebels in Catalonia. Los Velez sent to subdue the Catalans. He takes Cambrils and Tarragona, but is repulsed before Barcelona.
- 1641 Discovery of a plot of the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis de Ayamonte in concert with the king of Portugal to erect Andalusia into a separate sovereignty. The revolted Catalans swear fealty to France.
- 1642 French troops sent to aid the Catalans invade Aragon, take Perpignan and occupy Roussillon. Indecisive battle of Lerida.
- 1643 Disgrace of Olivares. Luis de Haro succeeds him. The Spaniards invade Champagne and are severely defeated at Rocroi. The Spaniards victorious at Lerida.
- 1646 Failure of a plot to deliver Barcelona to Philip.
- 1647 The Neapolitans revolt under Masaniello who is assassinated. Don John of Austria sent to quiet the city. Fresh revolt. The duke of Guise aims at the crown but is captured and the insurrection suppressed.
- 1648 Lerida successfully resists the French. The French defeat the Spaniards at Lens. On the termination of the Thirty Years' War by the Peace of Westphalia, Spain

- concludes peace with the United Provinces, acknowledging their independence and leaving them their conquests in Brabant and Flanders, with Maestricht and Breda and their acquisitions in America and the Indies.
- 1651 Battle of Iviza. Don John of Austria destroys the French fleet and besieges Barcelona.
- 1652 Barcelona capitulates. Catalonia returns to her allegiance to Spain. The Great Condé goes over to the Spaniards and leads their armies in the Spanish Netherlands against France.
- 1654 Spaniards defeated before Arras. The buccaneers sack New Segovia in Honduras and Maracaibo and Gibraltar on the Gulf of Venezuela.
- 1655 Jamaica captured by the English.
- 1656 Valenciennes, besieged by Turenne, is relieved by Don John and Condé.
- 1657 Oliver Cromwell sends troops to aid Turenne. The English exiles join the Spaniards.
- 1658 Battle of the Dunes. The Spaniards defeated. Dunkirk, Furnes, Gravelines and Oudenarde surrender to the French.
- 1659 Battle of Elvas. The Portuguese defeat De Haro. Devastating war on the frontiers. The treaty of the Pyrenees ends the French war. Louis XIV is to marry the infanta Maria Theresa, who renounces her claims to the Spanish crown. Spain abandons Roussillon, Cerdagne, Artois, and several border fortresses. Burgundy, Charolois, and Franche-Comté restored to Spain. France abandons the Portuguese.
- 1661 Don John invades Portugal. Death of De Haro.
- 1662 Don John occupies Alemtejo and
- 1663 takes Evora. Spaniards defeated at Amegial.
- 1664 Portuguese capture Valencia de Alcantara and defeat the Spaniards at Villaviciosa. Don John disgraced.
- 1665 Battle of Montes-Claros won by the Portuguese. They invade Andalusia. Revolt in Valencia and other provinces. Philip dies and is succeeded by his son Charles II, a child of four years, under the regency of his mother Maria Anna of Austria. The Jesuit Nithard becomes supreme.
- 1666 Louis XIV lays claim to Franche-Comté, Hainault, Brabant, Artois, etc., in right of his wife.
- 1667 He invades the Netherlands, and takes several fortresses.
- 1668 Treaty with Portugal. Spain recognises the house of Braganza. Franche-Comté conquered by France. England, Sweden, and the Dutch form a triple alliance to preserve the Netherlands to Spain. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). Spain abandons to Louis his Flemish conquests. Louis restores Franche-Comté.
- 1669 Disputes between the regent and Don John. Aragon and Catalonia declare for Don John. Nithard dismissed. The queen forced to share the government with Don John.
- 1671 Panama sacked by the buccaneers.
- 1672 Louis XIV invades Holland. Spain joins Germany in sending troops to Holland.
- 1674 Louis reconquers Franche-Comté. Indecisive battle of Seneffe between the allies and the French. Spanish victory in Roussillon. The victorious troops proceed to the siege of the revolted city of Messina. The French relieve Messina.
- 1675 Indecisive action off Messina between the French and the Spaniards and Dutch under De Ruyter. De Ruyter is killed. The French defeat the allied fleet off Palermo and rout a Spanish army in Sicily.
- 1677 Valenciennes and Cambray taken by the French. The Prince of Orange (William III of England) defeated at Mont-Cassel. Catalonia invaded by the French. Charles II declared of age. Don John contrives the disgrace of the queen-mother and her favourite Valenzuela. He suppresses the Council of the Indies, and introduces a few reforms.
- 1678 Cerdagne occupied and Ghent and Ypres taken by the French. They evacuate Sicily. Peace of Nimeguen. Spain surrenders Franche-Comté and fourteen fortresses of the Netherlands.
- 1679 Death of Don John.
- 1680 Eighty-five persons suffer at an *auto-da-fé*. Raiding expedition of buccaneers on the isthmus of Darien and the coast of Peru.
- 1683 The French renew the war.
- 1684 They are repulsed before Gerona and take Luxemburg. Truce with France. Plague in Andalusia.
- 1685 Oropesa replaces Medina-Celi as prime minister. Cadiz blockaded by France to enforce payment for goods confiscated from French merchants. Earthquakes in various places.
- 1686 League of Augsburg between Spain, the empire, England and Sweden against France.
- 1689 Revolt in Catalonia. Villa-Hermosa defeats the rebel army under Antonio de Soler. French invasion of Catalonia repulsed.

- 1690 Battle of Fleurus. The French defeat the allies.
- 1691 Melgar succeeds Oropesa. Attempt to reform the finances. Mons and Namur taken by the French. Barcelona bombarded by Noailles. Urgel taken by Noailles.
- 1693 The allies defeated at Neerwinden and Marsaglia. Charles appoints the elector of Bavaria hereditary governor of the Netherlands.
- 1694 Noailles takes Gerona.
- 1695 German mercenaries arrive in Catalonia, but are defeated at Llobregat.
- 1697 Cartagena de las Indias sacked by the French and buccaneers. Peace of Ryswick. Spain recovers Luxemburg, Mons, Courtrai, and the towns lost in Catalonia. Charles' declining health draws the attention of Europe to the question of his successor.
- 1698 Secret treaty between France, England, and Holland for the partition of the Spanish dominions. Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia and the colonies to go to the prince of Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, Finale, and Guipuzcoa to the dauphin; Lombardy to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor Leopold I. Charles appoints as his heir the prince of Bavaria, who dies immediately afterwards. French intrigues rouse Spanish opposition to the archduke.
- 1700 Second partition treaty between France, England, and Holland for the division of the Spanish dominions. Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia, and the colonies to go to the archduke Charles. To the dauphin, Naples, Sicily, Finale, Guipuzcoa, and the Milanese. Charles appoints as his heir, Philip, duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. Death of Charles II. Anjou succeeds as **Philip V.**

#### *Eighteenth Century*

- 1701 Philip arrives in Spain. The emperor protests against his accession. The nobles alienated by attempts at financial reform. Philip marries Maria Louisa of Savoy. The princess Orsini obtains supreme influence over Philip and Maria. *Fueros* restored to Catalonia.
- 1702 Philip goes to Naples. Indecisive battle of Luzzara between Philip and Prince Eugene. Grand Alliance between England, Holland, Denmark, Austria, and Prussia, against Spain and France. The allies fail before Cadiz, but destroy the Spanish plate fleet at Vigo.
- 1704 The archduke Charles lands at Lisbon, and in union with the king of Portugal declares war on Spain. A French army under Berwick invades Portugal. Charles lands at Barcelona, but effects nothing and retreats. Gibraltar taken by Sir George Rooke. Indecisive battle off Malaga.
- 1705 An attempt to recover Gibraltar fails. The allies take Barcelona. Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia declare for Charles.
- 1706 Philip fails at the siege of Barcelona. Portuguese invasion. Marlborough's victory at Ramillies leads to the loss of nearly the whole Spanish Netherlands. Charles enters Madrid. Aragon declares for him. The French driven from the Milanese and Charles proclaimed. The allies expelled from Castile.
- 1707 Berwick defeats the allies at Almansa. The Austrians conquer Naples; Valencia and Aragon recovered for Philip. Their *fueros* abolished, and their government assimilated to the Castilian.
- 1708 Attempt to exact a loan from the clergy. The pope forbids its payment, but offers a tax on church property, which Philip declines. The allies win the battle of Oudenarde. The plate fleet captured by the English. Minorca, Majorca, and Sardinia conquered by the allies, and Oran by the Moors.
- 1709 Amelot, the French ambassador, dismissed. Medina-Celi prime minister. Barrier treaty between England and Holland regulating the northern boundary of the Spanish Netherlands, and providing for their government in the name of Charles, and eventual transfer to Austria.
- 1710 Insincere negotiations of Gertruydenberg between France and the allies. War in Spain renewed. Philip defeated at Almenara and Saragossa. Charles re-enters Madrid, but leaves to repel an invasion of Catalonia, and Philip returns and wins the battle of Villaviciosa.
- 1711 Death of the emperor Joseph I. The archduke Charles succeeds him as Charles VI.
- 1712 England withdraws from the Grand Alliance, and recalls her troops from Catalonia. Philip renounces his rights to the French crown, and changes the law of succession to the Spanish crown, excluding females while one of his male descendants shall survive.
- 1713 The imperial troops withdraw from Catalonia. Orry becomes finance minister, and reforms the administration. Death of Queen Maria Louisa. The clergy resist an

- attempt to curb the power of the Inquisition. Spain accedes to the Peace of Utrecht between France and England, Holland, Prussia, Savoy, and Portugal, by which Philip is recognised as king of Spain; the Spanish Netherlands, Sardinia, the Milanese, and Naples are ceded to Austria, and Sicily to Savoy; while England retains Gibraltar and Minorca.
- 1714 France and England send troops to reduce Catalonia. Barcelona taken by storm. The privileges of Catalonia abolished, and the Castilian constitution established there. Majorca submits. Philip marries Elizabeth Farnese. She gains unbounded influence over him, and makes Alberoni, an Italian priest, her chief adviser. He turns his attention to the revival of commerce and industry, economical reforms, and the reorganisation of the army and navy.
- 1715 Peace with Portugal. Colonia del Sacramento on the Rio de la Plata ceded to her.
- 1716-17 Triple alliance between France, England, and Holland to preserve the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht.
- 1717 Sardinia occupied by the Spaniards.
- 1718 Triple alliance between the emperor, France, and England. The Spaniards invade Sicily. Their fleet is destroyed by Byng in a battle off Cape Passaro. Alberoni concert with count Görtz, minister of Charles XII of Sweden, a scheme for a joint invasion of Scotland by Sweden and Russia, which is frustrated by the death of Charles XII.
- 1719 Spain invaded by the French. A Spanish fleet, sent to restore the English pretender, dispersed by a storm. The allies ravage the Spanish coasts. Spanish reverses in Sicily. Holland accedes to the Triple, now the Quadruple, Alliance. Alberoni disgraced. Patiño succeeds him.
- 1720 Philip accedes to the Quadruple Alliance. Sicily ceded to Austria, and Sardinia to Savoy. Successful campaign on the Barbary coast.
- 1721 Defensive alliance with France and England.
- 1724 Philip abdicates in favour of his son Luis. Death of Luis. Philip V resumes the crown.
- 1725 The Spanish infanta, the intended queen of Louis XV, sent back to Spain. Philip's agent, Ripperdá, concludes with the emperor the treaty of Vienna, securing the succession of Charles, son of Philip and Elizabeth Farnese, to Parma and Tuscany and arranging a commercial alliance.
- 1726 England joins France in the league of Hanover. Administration and disgrace of Ripperdá.
- 1727 Gibraltar besieged by the Spaniards. The emperor makes peace with England and France, referring the questions of Parma, Tuscany, and Gibraltar to a congress.
- 1728 Philip accepts the terms in the convention of the Pardo.
- 1729 Treaty of Seville between Spain, England, and France. The commercial treaty with the emperor abrogated. Philip's son Charles recognised as heir to Parma and Tuscany.
- 1731 The emperor annexes Parma, but in the second treaty of Vienna accedes to the treaty of Seville. Charles succeeds to Parma and Piacenza.
- 1732 Oran recovered from the Moors.
- 1733 Perpetual Family Compact between France and Spain. France, Spain, and Sardinia agree to assert the claims of Stanislaus Leczinsky to Poland.
- 1734 Charles of Parma takes possession of Naples and is declared king of the Two Sicilies. The retiring Germans defeated at Bitonto. Sicily reduced for Charles. The Germans beaten at Parma.
- 1735 Preliminaries of Vienna. France and Sardinia make peace with the emperor. Parma to be ceded to Austria and Tuscany to Francis of Lorraine.
- 1736 Philip and Charles of Sicily accede to the Peace of Vienna, Charles retaining Sicily.
- 1739 War of Jenkins' Ear occasioned by the disputes of Spanish and English traders in the West Indies. To meet the expense of the war, government pensions and payments are suspended for a year, and the interest on the public debt reduced. Porto Bello captured by the English.
- 1740 Death of the emperor Charles VI. Philip claims the succession for his son Don Philip.
- 1741 Unsuccessful siege of Cartagena de las Indias by the British. They fail to conquer Cuba. Anson plunders Payta and captures a Spanish treasure ship.
- 1742 Philip sends troops to invade Austrian Lombardy. The king of Sardinia suddenly goes over to the emperor and drives the Spaniards from Lombardy. The British fleet compels the neutrality of Naples.
- 1743 Alliance of Austria, England, and Sardinia. Spain renews the French alliance in the Treaty of Fontainebleau.
- 1744 Indecisive battle of Hyères between the English, French, and Spanish fleets. Unsuccessful siege of Coni by the Spaniards.

- 1745 The French and Spanish overrun the Milanese.
- 1746 The French and Spaniards routed at Piacenza and expelled from Lombardy. Death of Philip. His son, **Ferdinand VI**, succeeds.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Don Philip receives Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Maria Theresa recognised as successor of Charles VI.
- 1749 Commercial treaty of Aquisgran between Spain and England. Under the administration of Carvajal and Ensenada, Spain begins to recover her prosperity.
- 1752 Treaty of Aranjuez between Spain, Maria Theresa, and the dukes of Tuscany, and Parma guarantees the neutrality of Italy.
- 1753 Pope Benedict XIV acknowledges by a concordat the Spanish king's right to make ecclesiastical appointments.
- 1754 Death of Carvajal. Richard Wall, an Irishman, succeeds him.
- 1755 Earthquake in Spain.
- 1759 Death of Ferdinand. His half-brother, Charles of Naples, succeeds as **Charles III**. Naples is handed over to Charles' younger son, Ferdinand. Charles restores Aragon and Catalonia some of their privileges and remits arrears of taxes. Squillaci (Esquilache) appointed minister of finance.
- 1761 Third family compact with France for mutual defence. Consequent war with England.
- 1762 Portugal refuses to join the family compact and is invaded by the French and Spaniards. England sends troops to Portugal. The Spaniards defeated at Valencia de Alcantara and Villa Velha. Havana and Manila captured by the English. Colonia del Sacramento taken from Portugal.
- 1763 Peace with England. Spain cedes Florida and her fishing rights on the Newfoundland banks. England restores Havana and Manila. Grimaldi succeeds Wall. Louisiana ceded to Spain by France. The inhabitants refuse to accept the transfer.
- 1765 Reorganisation of the Spanish colonies. Discontent and revolts.
- 1766 Discontent roused against Squillaci by sumptuary laws, foreign innovations, and the high price of bread. Sanguinary revolution in Madrid called the "Revolt of Esquilache." De Aranda minister. He continues the policy of innovation, and
- 1767 expels the Jesuit fathers from Spain and the colonies, as aiders and abettors of revolution.
- 1769 Louisiana subdued.
- 1770 The Spaniards assert their claim to the Falkland Islands and expel the English. Preparations are made for war, but France withdrawing her support,
- 1771 Spain is compelled to apologise and restore the Falklands. De Aranda dismissed.
- 1773 The pope, Clement XIV, compelled by Spain to order the suppression of the Jesuits. The pursuit of trade declared to involve no loss of rank or privilege.
- 1774 The final blow given to the Inquisition by a decree making civil offences punishable by civil tribunals only.
- 1775 Ceuta and Melilla attacked by the Moors. The aggressors defeated. A Spanish army routed in Algiers.
- 1776 The Portuguese attack the Spaniards on the Rio Grande. Colonia del Sacramento and the neighbouring colonies occupied by Spain.
- 1777 Grimaldi replaced by Florida-Blanca. Peace with Portugal. Spain retains Colonia del Sacramento.
- 1778 Perpetual alliance with Portugal. Privilege of free trade with all American colonies save Mexico granted to seven principal Spanish ports. The privilege was afterwards extended to all the provinces save Biscay.
- 1779 Spain offers to mediate between England and her revolted American colonies. On her refusal Spain declares war. Gibraltar besieged by the Spaniards. Failure of a Franco-Spanish naval expedition against England.
- 1780 The principle of the Armed Neutrality announced by Russia and accepted by Spain. Rodney defeats the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. English transport fleet captured.
- 1781 Pensacola taken by the Spaniards. Rebellions in Peru and Mexico.
- 1782 Minorca taken by the French and Spaniards. Gibraltar relieved by Howe. Treaty with Turkey containing commercial provisions, arranging for the exchange of slaves and protection for Spanish pilgrims.
- 1783 Peace with England concluded at Versailles. Spain retains Minorca and Florida. Increase of duties on foreign manufactures.
- 1784 The proceedings of the Inquisition against grandes and officials subjected to the king's approval.
- 1786 Treaty with Algiers. The Algerian government guarantees the suppression of piracy.
- 1788 Death of Charles III. He is succeeded by his son **Charles IV**.
- 1791 Spain protests against the foundation of the English settlement at Nootka Sound, but being unsupported by France has to recognise it. This humiliation being



- attributed to the French Revolution leads to a reaction against liberalism. Florida-Blanca urges the European powers to restore Louis XVI.
- 1792 Dismissal of Florida-Blanca. Manuel de Godoy, the queen's favourite, becomes supreme. The Spanish government intercedes for Louis XVI.
- 1793 Execution of Louis XVI. Spain joins the First Coalition against France. Failure of the invasion of France.
- 1794 The Spaniards are defeated with the loss of nine thousand men and surrender Figueras. The French invade Spain.
- 1795 Treaty of Bale. Spain surrenders her territory in Santo Domingo. The French evacuate Spain.
- 1796 Alliance between France and Spain in the treaty of San Ildefonso. Spain joins
- 1797 the war against England, and her fleet is defeated in the battle of Cape St. Vincent.
- 1800 Louisiana ceded to France.

*Nineteenth Century*

- 1801 Successful invasion of Portugal. Portugal agrees to exclude English forces from her ports. Napoleon exacts a large payment from Portugal and insists on Spain's ceding Trinidad to England.
- 1803 Napoleon compels Spain to pay a large subsidy for the war with England and to undertake to secure Portuguese neutrality.
- 1805 Spain joins France in the war. The English defeat the French and Spaniards at Cape Finisterre and Trafalgar. British invasion of Buenos Ayres.
- 1806 Ferdinand, king of Naples, expelled from Naples. Spain prepares for war, but after Napoleon's victory at Jena renews the
- 1807 French alliance in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, arranging for the partition of Portugal. Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, conspires against the government. Charles asks help from Napoleon. The French march into Spain. Reconciliation of Ferdinand and Charles.
- 1808 Murat sent to command the French troops in Spain. Barcelona, Pamplona, and the northern fortresses of Spain occupied by the French. Indignation in Spain and riots against Godoy. Charles IV is constrained to abdicate in favour of **Ferdinand VII**. Murat occupies Madrid. Charles declares his abdication compulsory. Meeting of Napoleon and the Spanish royal family at Bayonne. Murat assumes the Spanish government in the name of Charles IV. Ferdinand restores the crown to Charles IV, who resigns his rights to Napoleon and retires to Rome. Napoleon makes **Joseph Bonaparte** king. General revolt against the French throughout Spain. The French sack Cordova. Saragossa and Valencia successfully resist them. Savage guerilla warfare. Capitulation of Baylen; twenty thousand French surrender. Flight of Joseph. The central junta assumes the government. French victories of Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela. Napoleon enters Madrid, abolishes feudalism and the Inquisition and restores Joseph. The Spanish colonies of Buenos Ayres, Mexico, Chili, and Venezuela revolt.
- 1809 Battle of Corunna and retreat of an English army. Napoleon quits Spain. Joseph returns. Marshal Lannes takes Saragossa by storm. French victories of Medellin and Ciudad-Real. Soult commander-in-chief of the French in Spain. Wellington is sent to aid the Spaniards and defeats the French at Talavera. Wellington returns to Portugal. Spaniards defeated at Ocaña. Flight of the central junta from Seville to the isle of Leon. Joseph enters Seville.
- 1810 Napoleon converts Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay into military governments. Juntas formed in the colonial cities govern in Ferdinand's name, but work for independence. The cortes meet at the isle of Leon, swear fealty to Ferdinand VII
- 1811 as a constitutional monarch and declare the abolition of feudalism, the privileges of the nobles and the tithes of the church, declare the sovereignty to reside in the people, and draw up a constitution called the "constitution of the year 12." The cortes refuse to grant the colonies equality of representation and free trade. Most of the colonies declare their independence and successfully assert it against Spanish troops. The cortes conclude a treaty with England, granting her free trade in America, and make Wellington commander-in-chief of the Spanish troops in the western provinces. The French take Tarragona, Murviedro, and Valencia.
- 1812 Wellington captures Badajoz, defeats Marmont at Salamanca, and enters Madrid.
- 1813 Wellington defeats Joseph at Vitoria. Napoleon recalls Joseph and names Soult governor of Spain. Wellington takes San Sebastian and Pamplona. Wellington invades France.
- 1814 **Ferdinand VII** returns. He imprisons the liberal leaders and restores absolutism with the privileges of the nobles and clergy. The Inquisition re-erected. Persecu-

tion of partisans of Joseph, leaders of the liberal party, and guerilla captains. A camarilla or court party rules supreme and organises a reign of terror. Wars for independence in the South American colonies.

1815 Porlier's rebellion at Corunna suppressed. Morillo sent to Venezuela. He crushes rebellion and governs vigorously.

1816 Rio de la Plata asserts its independence.

1817 Lacy rebels in Catalonia, is captured and shot.

1819 Florida sold to the United States. Secret societies formed against the government.

1820 Venezuela and New Granada declare their union as the Free State of Colombia. An army, assembled to conquer Colombia, rebels under Riego and Quiroga. The revolt spreads throughout Spain. Ferdinand compelled to swear to the constitution and abolish the Inquisition. Cortes and liberal government. The moderate party fails to restrain the radicals. The priests stir up the people against the constitution. Disorder throughout the country.

1821 Mexico becomes independent.

1822 Triumph of the radical party. Riego president of the cortes. The clerical and servile (royal) party sets up a regency in Urgel and arms for the king. Civil war in Catalonia and Aragon between serviles and radicals. Congress of Verona, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia agree for armed intervention in Spain in favour of Ferdinand. Victory of the Liberals under Mina and flight of the regency to France.

1823 The government withdraws to Seville. Invasion by the French. The serviles and common people join them. The French erect a provisional government in Madrid and restore the "legitimate order" of things. The cortes withdraw to Cadiz, but surrender it to the French. Ferdinand resumes despotic power. Execution of Riego and other liberals. Many go into exile. President Monroe declares the United States' intention to oppose the interference of European powers for the restoration of Spanish absolutism in America.

1824 Battle of Ayacucho. Chili and Peru achieve independence by the defeat of the Spaniards.

1825 "Commissions of purification" persecute all opponents of despotism. Bessières' revolt suppressed.

1830 Ferdinand publishes the Pragmatic Sanction of 1789 which abrogated the Salic law of 1713. Birth of Ferdinand's daughter Isabella.

1832 Illness of Ferdinand. The queen Christina appointed regent. Ferdinand recalls the Pragmatic Sanction, thus restoring the rights of his brother Don Carlos. The queen recalls the exiled constitutionalists. Ferdinand cancels his revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. Disturbances in favour of Don Carlos. Don Carlos exiled.

1833 Death of Ferdinand. Christina regent for Isabella II. The northern provinces revolt for Carlos. France and England recognise Isabella. Don Carlos assumes the title of Carlos V king of Spain.

1834 Ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, including moderate royalists and moderate liberals. The cortes summoned. Quadruple Alliance. France and England agree to support the young queens of Spain and Portugal against the pretenders Carlos and Miguel. A Spanish army invades Portugal and expels the Portuguese pretender. Carlos escapes to England. A savage guerilla war between Carlists and Christinos begins in Biscay and Navarre. Carlos returns. Mina given command of the queen's troops.

1835 Mutiny of the guards in favour of the constitution of 1812. The Carlists become masters of all northern Spain. Dissension between the rival parties of moderates and radicals, or progressists, and anarchy in the southern provinces. Cloisters attacked and monks murdered by the Christinos. Semi-republican juntas formed in the cities. The Carlists defeated at Mendigorria. The war continues with increased savagery. Mendizabal minister.

1836 The convent law of Mendizabal suppresses the monastic orders, confiscating their goods. Mendizabal retires. The moderates in power. A British legion defeats the Carlists at Bilbao. At La Granja the soldiers force Christina to promulgate the constitution of 1812 and dismiss her ministers. The Christino general Espartero relieves Bilbao. The "royal expedition" of Don Carlos to Madrid is driven back to the north.

1837 The constitution modified by the cortes and made less democratic. Carlos enters Castile, but is expelled by Espartero.

1838 The moderates in power. Attempts at absolutist reaction.

1839 Maroto becomes Don Carlos' chief adviser and opens negotiations with Espartero which lead to the treaty of Bergara, by which the insurgents agree to lay down their arms in return for an amnesty and confirmation of the *fueros* of Navarre and Biscay. Carlos escapes to France. The war continues two years longer in Catalonia and Valencia.

- 1840 The liberals force Christina to accept Espartero as chief minister. She abdicates.  
 1841 Espartero regent. Insurrections in favour of Christina.  
 1843 Revolt of Barcelona. General Narvaez occupies Madrid for Christina. Espartero flees to England. Isabella's majority declared. Christina returns. Reactionary policy under French influence.  
 1844 Insurrection of the coloured population of Cuba.  
 1845 New constitution increasing the power of the crown.  
 1846 Louis Philippe procures the marriage of Isabella with Francis de Asis and of her sister with the duke of Montpensier.  
 1847 Cabrera fails to excite a Carlist rising.  
 1850 Amnesty to the Carlists. Revolt in Cuba in favour of union with the United States suppressed.  
 1851 Fall of Narvaez. Concessions to the clergy.  
 1852 The constitution changed in favour of absolutism. Limitation of the freedom of the press.  
 1854 The moderates and radicals join in a liberal union. Revolts in Barcelona and Madrid. Espartero minister. Attempts to revive internal prosperity. Sale of the property of the church, of institutions, and of the state ordered.  
 1856 New constitution. Espartero retires. Riots in Madrid and Barcelona. The old moderate party under Narvaez in power.  
 1858 Union of moderates and radicals under the O'Donnell ministry.  
 1860 Successful expedition to Morocco. The Spaniards win the battles of Tetuan and Guad Ras. Ortega proclaims Don Carlos' son as Charles VI. Ortega captured and shot. Don Carlos' sons captured and compelled to renounce their pretensions.  
 1861 Santo Domingo declared reunited to Spain. Convention of London. At the instigation of Spain, England, France, and Spain agree to force Mexico to fulfil her obligations. Spanish troops under Prim join in the Mexican expedition.  
 1863 Prim's attitude brings about a misunderstanding with France. Dissolution of the O'Donnell cabinet.  
 1864 War with Santo Domingo.  
 1865 A party formed for the union of Spain with Portugal.  
 1866 War with Peru. Rebellion in Catalonia, Valencia, and Madrid. A new ministry under Narvaez and Gonzalez Bravo endeavours to restrain rebellion by a reign of terror.  
 1868 The liberal union, progressists, and democrats unite against the government. Revolution. Insurgents' victory at the bridge of Alcolea. Flight of Isabella. Provisional government under Prim, Topete, and Olozaga. Disputes as to the form of government. Religious orders abolished and toleration proclaimed. Cuban insurrection.  
 1869 Monarchist majority in constituent cortes. Various candidates for the throne proposed. New constitution drawn up. Serrano becomes regent with Prim as minister. Republican and Carlist risings suppressed.  
 1870 Amadeo, duke of Aosta and son of the king of Italy, elected king of Spain. Prim assassinated.  
 1871 Serrano and Sagasta ministers.  
 1873 Amadeo abdicates. Republican government. Constituent assembly meets to draw up a federal republican constitution. Don Carlos (Charles VII) raises a Carlist rebellion with guerilla warfare in the north. The intransigentes or extreme republicans in opposition to the federalists erect independent governments in the coast towns. Cartagena becomes the centre of the extreme republicans. Cuba revolts in consequence of the law releasing slaves and seeks union with the United States. A party of Americans landing in Cuba to aid the insurgents seized and many of them executed.  
 1874 General Pavia occupies the house of assembly with troops and declares the cortes closed. Military dictatorship under Serrano and Sagasta. Cartagena surrenders to the federalists. General Martinez Campos proclaims **Alfonso XII**, son of Isabella, king.  
 1875 Alfonso returns to Spain. Religious liberty abolished. The law of civil marriage confined to non-Catholics. The Carlists driven from Catalonia and Valencia. Urgel, Vitoria, and Estella capitulate.  
 1876 New constitution with a minimum of religious toleration; senate partly elective. The Carlist insurrection suppressed.  
 1879 Campos ministry. Inundations. Alfonso marries the Austrian archduchess Maria Christina. Canovas del Castillo ministry.  
 1880 Law for abolition of slavery in Cuba.  
 1881 Sagasta ministry. Riots in Catalonia over a projected commercial treaty with France.  
 1882 The treaty concluded.

dist and military outbreaks. Posada Herrera succeeds Sagasta. .  
 ervative ministry under Canovas del Castillo.  
 ute with Germany over Caroline Islands arbitrated by the pope (1886). Death  
 Alfonso XII. Queen Maria Christina regent. Sagasta ministry.  
 mercial treaty with England. Birth of **Alfonso XIII**. Don Carlos protests  
 inst the proclamation of Alfonso.  
 Zorrilla issues a revolutionary manifesto demanding a new form of government  
 be settled by the people. Republican disturbances.  
 duction of trial by jury. Great strike in Catalonia.  
 m of the constitution. Canovas del Castillo ministry.  
 commercial tariff and consequent break with France. War with Morocco.  
 gasta again minister.  
 sions produced by anarchists in Barcelona.  
 lation against anarchists. Consecration of the first bishop of the Spanish  
 rmed church.  
 with Morocco.  
 nited States requests Spain to recognise the independence of Cuba. Indignation  
 pain.  
 a reform bill passed. Cubans recognised as belligerents by the United States.  
 novas del Castillo assassinated by an anarchist. Sagasta ministry.  
 stice to the Cubans. The president of the United States sends a message to  
 gress requiring the end of the Cuban War. Spain declares the message incom-  
 ile with Spanish rights. Bread riots in Spain. War with the United States in  
 a and the Philippines. The Spaniards defeated in the battles of Manila, San  
 n, and Santiago. Santiago surrenders. Martial law proclaimed in Spain.  
 ippine Republic proclaimed. Treaty between Spain and America. Spain  
 gns her rights in Cuba, Porto Rico, and her other possessions in the Antilles  
 Philippines.  
 left with embarrassed finances. The Sagasta ministry resigns. Señor Silvela  
 ns the modern conservative party. Señor Villaverde effects many financial  
 rms. Caroline Islands sold to Germany. Reform of the navy.  
 r conservative administration formed by General Azcarraga.

#### *Twentieth Century*

clerical riots in Madrid and other towns. A Liberal government under Sagasta  
 in goes into power. The queen in opening the Cortes declares that a thorough  
 al reorganization of the country is necessary, that its finances must be con-  
 lated and its wealth developed.  
 so XIII declared of age and crowned. Attempt to assassinate Alfonso XIII.  
 ela returns to power. Spain concludes treaties of arbitration with all countries  
 outh America except Chile.  
 of Sagasta. New cabinet headed by Señor Villaverde, shortly afterwards replaced  
 Señor Maura.  
 political dissension. Attempt to assassinate Señor Maura.  
 ational *pourparlers* concerning Morocco.  
 ge of Alfonso XIII to Princess Ena (known as Queen Victoria Eugénie) niece of  
 ng Edward VII of Great Britain. The Duke of Almodovar represents Spain at  
 Algeciras Conference when the powers agree upon reforms in Morocco.  
 Maura forms a new cabinet. Ecclesiastical disturbances at Barcelona. The Pope  
 sents to act as godfather to the heir of Spain, a son, born May 10th.



## A BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF PORTUGUESE HISTORY

### *Tenth Century*

- 997 Oporto and surrounding territory taken from the Moors by Bermudo II of Galicia.

### *Eleventh Century*

- 1055 Cea and other fortresses captured from the Moors by Ferdinand the Great of Castile and Leon.  
 1057 Ferdinand takes Lamego and Viseu  
 1064 and Coimbra, and forms the conquered territory into a country under Sesnando, a Moor.  
 1065 Death of Ferdinand. The suzerainty of the counties of Coimbra and Oporto passes with Galicia to his son Garcia.  
 1073 Garcia's territories re-united with Leon and Castile under Alfonso VI.  
 1095 Alfonso VI gives Porto Cale (Portugal), consisting of the fiefs of Oporto and Coimbra, to Count Henry of Burgundy (Besançon), who married his daughter Theresa, 1072.

### *Twelfth Century*

- 1109 Death of Alfonso. Urraca succeeds to Castile and Leon. Henry interferes in the internal troubles of that kingdom.  
 1112 War with Almoravids. Death of Henry. Theresa regent for her son Alfonso Henriques.  
 1117 Theresa besieged by Moors at Coimbra. She gives power to her lover Ferdinand Peres de Trava.  
 1121 Urraca takes Theresa captive. Peace made.  
 1127 Alfonso VII of Castile conquers Theresa's realm and compels her homage.  
 1128 Alfonso Henriques assumes power, defeats and exiles Theresa. In the next years he three times invades Galicia and in  
 1137 defeats Alfonso VII's troops at Cerneja. Peace of Tuy. Alfonso Henriques submits to the king of Leon.  
 1139 Battle of Ourique. Alfonso Henriques crushes the Moors. A legend was formerly current that he was then hailed as king by his soldiers.  
 1140 The Moors capture and destroy Leiria. Tournay of Valdevez. The Portuguese knights defeat the Castilian. Alfonso Henriques king of Portugal as **Alfonso I**.  
 1143 Peace of Zamora. Alfonso VII acknowledges Alfonso I as king. The latter declares himself a vassal of the pope.  
 1144 The Moors defeat the Templars at Soure.  
 1147 Alfonso I captures Santarem and takes Lisbon with the aid of English and other crusaders. Other Moorish cities surrender.  
 1152 Alfonso repulsed at Alcacer-do-Sal.  
 1158 Alfonso captures Alcacer-do-Sal.

- 1161 Alfonso is defeated by the Moors.
- 1166 The Moors take Evora.
- 1167 Alfonso invades Galicia.
- 1168 Alfonso besieges Badajoz, is taken prisoner and compelled to relinquish Galician conquests.
- 1170 Alfonso loses to the Moors in Alemtejo.
- 1171 Alfonso victorious at Santarem, makes seven years' truce with Moors.
- 1172 Makes his son Dom Sancho co-ruler, who fights the Moors constantly.
- 1184 Dom Sancho crushes and kills Yusuf at Santarem.
- 1185 Alfonso dies and is succeeded by **Sancho I, O Povoador** ("City Builder").
- 1189 Sancho, aided by crusaders on their way to Palestine, takes Algarve and Silves from the Moors.
- 1192 The Moors re-conquer Alemtejo, but are repulsed at Santarem, and peace is made. Dom Sancho wages constant war with Alfonso IX of Leon. He builds many cities.

#### *Thirteenth Century*

- 1209 Sancho's quarrels with Pope Innocent III, respecting jurisdiction over priests, culminate in the siege and escape of the bishop of Oporto.
- 1210 Dom Sancho grants the pope's demands, retires to a convent and dies.
- 1211 **Alfonso II "the Fat"** succeeds, and summons the first real parliament; he wars with his brothers and sisters and Alfonso IX of Leon.
- 1212 Portuguese take part in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.
- 1217 Alcacer-do-Sal recovered from the Moors. Alfonso II is excommunicated for seizing church lands.
- 1223 Alfonso II dies and is succeeded by the thirteen-year-old **Sancho II**.
- 1226 Sancho II captures Elvas from the Moors.
- 1227 Sancho reinstates officials hostile to the clergy and fights the Moors.
- 1228 The pope reconciled.
- 1237 The pope lays an interdict on Portugal, but is pacified.
- 1239-1244 Sancho II takes several cities from the Moors.
- 1245 The pope deposes Sancho II. The clerical party sets up Sancho's brother,
- 1248 Alfonso, who drives Sancho II into exile, where he dies. **Alfonso III** completes the conquest of Algarve.
- 1254 Alfonso marries Beatrice de Guzman, the natural daughter of Alfonso the Learned of Castile, so alienating the papal faction. Alfonso III summons a cortes at Leiria.
- 1261 The cortes forces the king to recognize the necessity of obtaining the people's consent to taxation.
- 1262 The pope legalizes the king's marriage and legitimates his son Dom Diniz, who
- 1263 is made king of Algarve.
- 1277 Dom Diniz rebels against his father.
- 1279 Alfonso III dies, leaving Portugal fully established and its boundaries defined. **Dom Diniz El Ré Lavrador**, established after war with his brother. Period of internal progress and prosperity.
- 1294 Commercial treaty with Edward I of England.
- 1297 Peace settled with Castile and Leon.
- 1300 University founded at Lisbon.

#### *Fourteenth Century*

- 1319 Diniz founds the order of Christ to replace the Templars.
- 1323 His wife, St. Isabella, prevents a battle between Diniz and his son Alfonso.
- 1325 Diniz dies and is succeeded by **Alfonso IV**.
- 1336 Alfonso invades Castile; peace made by St. Isabella.
- 1340 The Portuguese and Castilians defeat the Moors at the river Salado.
- 1348 The Black death invades Portugal.
- 1355 Ines de Castro, wife or mistress of the infante Dom Pedro, murdered.
- 1357 Alfonso dies and is succeeded by **Dom Pedro (I) the Severe**.
- 1361 Pedro the Cruel of Castile surrenders the murderers of Ines in exchange for Castilian fugitives. The murderers put to death with torture.
- 1367 Pedro dies and is succeeded by **Ferdinand the Handsome**, who
- 1369 claims the throne of Castile and Leon, and combats Henry of Trastamara.
- 1371 Ferdinand resigns his claims to Castile.
- 1373 Henry of Trastamara invades Portugal.
- 1374 Ferdinand promises to support John of Gaunt's claims to Castile, but again makes peace with Henry of Trastamara.



- 1383 The English, angry at Ferdinand's fickleness, ravage Portugal. Ferdinand dies, leaving his wife Leonora regent, against whom the people rise.
- 1384 Juan I of Castile allies himself with her, but is repulsed at Lisbon.
- 1385 The Portuguese proclaim Dom João, grand master of Aviz and son of Pedro the Severe, king, as **João (I) the Great**. The Portuguese defeat the Castilians at Aljubarrota and Valverde.
- 1386 A perpetual treaty of alliance signed with England.
- 1398 Inês de Castro's son, Diniz, attempts to overthrow João, but, with English assistance, he is defeated.

*Fifteenth Century*

- 1411 Peace made with Castile.
- 1415 The Portuguese take Ceuta in Africa, their first foreign possession.
- 1418 Prince Henry's captains discover the Madeiras.
- 1420 Madeiras colonised.
- 1432 Azores occupied by Portuguese.
- 1433 A Portuguese ship passes Cape Bojador. João dies and is succeeded by **Duarte** (Edward), who calls a cortes at Évora and passes the Lei Mental ordaining the reversion to the crown of lands granted to nobles on failure of male descendants of the grantee.
- 1437 Duarte sends an expedition against Tangier. The Portuguese surrounded and saved only by Prince Ferdinand's offering himself as hostage.
- 1438 Duarte dies, **Alfonso V the African**, a minor, succeeds. Pedro, son of João I, regent.
- 1441 Slave-trade begun by Portuguese.
- 1447 Alfonso V comes of age and dismisses Pedro.
- 1449 Alfonso V defeats and kills Pedro at Alfarrobeira.
- 1458 Alfonso takes Alcacer-Seguir, Africa.
- 1460 Prince Henry the navigator dies. Cape Verd Islands discovered and settled.
- 1462 Pedro de Cintra discovers Sierra Leone.
- 1464 Alfonso repulsed in Africa.
- 1471 Tangier captured by the Portuguese.
- 1475 Alfonso marries Juana (Beltraneja) of Castile and claims the Castilian crown,
- 1476 but is defeated at battle of Toro and concludes with Castile the treaty of Alcantara (1479). Juana retires to a convent.
- 1481 Alfonso dies. **João II the Perfect**. The cortes of Évora determines on an inquiry into titles to estates and the abrogation of the judicial powers of the nobles.
- 1483 The duke of Braganza and other nobles oppose these measures. Braganza executed.
- 1484 Diogo Cam discovers the Congo and Angola.
- 1487 Bartholomeu Dias discovers the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1488 Commercial treaty with England.
- 1490 Covilhão enters Abyssinia.
- 1493 Pope Alexander V declares the boundary between Portuguese and Spanish areas of discovery.
- 1494 By the treaty of Tordesillas the boundary is readjusted.
- 1495 João II dies without heirs and is succeeded by **Emmanuel the Fortunate**, who expels the Jews from Portugal as the condition of his marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain. Vasco da Gama discovers Natal.
- 1498 Vasco discovers Calicut.
- 1500 Cabral discovers Brazil. Factories established at Kananur and Cochin.

*Sixteenth Century*

- 1501 Ascension Island discovered. Vespucci discovers Rio de la Plata and Paraguay.
- 1502 St. Helena discovered. Vasco visits India and establishes a factory at Mozambique.
- 1505 De Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy, sent to India. His son Lourenço discovers Ceylon. Mombasa occupied.
- 1506 Massacre of the New Christians in Lisbon.
- 1508 Albuquerque supersedes Almeida as viceroy in India.
- 1510 Albuquerque is repulsed in an attack on Calicut and conquers Goa
- 1511 and Malacca.
- 1512 Serrão discovers the Moluccas.
- 1515 Albuquerque captures Ormus. Portuguese established at Diu.
- 1517 Andrade settles at Canton.
- 1518 Portuguese settlement established in Ceylon.
- 1520 Magellan discovers the straits of Magellan.
- 1521 Andrade reaches Pekin. Emmanuel dies, and is succeeded by **João III**. He finds

- his countrymen too eager to gain wealth by foreign adventure and emigration, thus threatening depopulation.
- 1531 Daman taken and destroyed by Portuguese. Sousa founds São Vicente in Brazil and receives a grant of the first hereditary captaincy, or governorship of a province, in Brazil.
- 1536 Inquisition established in Portugal.
- 1539 Bishopric established at Goa.
- 1541 St. Francis Xavier sent to the Indies. Estevão da Gama, governor of India, leads an expedition to the Red Sea.
- 1542 Japan discovered by Fernão Mendes Pinto.
- 1543 Xavier founds Christian settlements in Travancore.
- 1545 The Indian viceroy De Castro wins victory of Diu over the king of Guzerat.
- 1548 St. Francis Xavier goes to Japan.
- 1549 Thomé de Sousa first governor-general of Brazil. He founds Bahia and governs by aid of Jesuits.
- 1557 Factories established at Macao. João III dies, and is succeeded by his three-year-old grandson **Sebastian**, under the regency of his grandmother Catherine and his great-uncle Cardinal Henry, but under the power of the brothers Camara.
- 1558 Portuguese settled at Daman.
- 1560 Inquisition introduced into India.
- 1567 Portuguese established at Rio de Janeiro after conflicts with French settlers.
- 1568 Sebastian of age.
- 1578 He invades Africa, and is defeated and killed at Kassar-el-Kebir. He is succeeded by his uncle **Henry**, who, feeling that he cannot live long, calls the cortes to name his successor.
- 1580 Henry dies. Philip II of Spain is chosen king as **Philip I**, and defeats his rival Antonio, prior of Crato, at Alcantara, and again in the Azores.
- 1582 the Azores.
- 1584-1585 Two pretenders, who claim to be the dead Sebastian, captured.
- 1585 São Thiago, Cape Verd Islands, captured by an English fleet.
- 1586 Bahia plundered by the English.
- 1589 Combined English and Dutch expedition to "restore" Antonio, wins successes, but retreats.
- 1594 Gabriel Espinosa, a third false Sebastian, executed. Philip closes the Portuguese harbours to the Dutch.
- 1596 The English sack Faro and Fort Arguin and ravage the Azores.
- 1597 The Dutch build a factory in Java and occupy other East Indian possessions.
- 1598 **Philip II** (III of Spain) king.

*Seventeenth Century*

- 1603 Tullio, a fourth false Sebastian, captured.
- 1605 The Dutch take Amboyna and expel the Portuguese from the Moluccas.
- 1615 The Portuguese defeat the king of Achin in Malacca.
- 1621 **Philip III** (IV of Spain).
- 1622 The Shah of Persia, aided by the English, recovers Ormus.
- 1624 Bahia taken by the Dutch and recovered.
- 1630 Olinda in Brazil taken by the Dutch. Maurice of Nassau extends the Dutch power in Brazil.
- 1632 Military post of Tete in Mozambique established.
- 1634 An insurrection in Lisbon put down.
- 1637 An insurrection in Evora put down.
- 1638 The Dutch take Portuguese forts in Ceylon.
- 1640 The Dutch take Malacca. The Portuguese having been alienated by the misfortunes of their country under Spanish rule and by the bad faith of their kings, a sudden revolution ousts the Spaniards and gives the crown to the duke of Braganza as **João (IV) the Fortunate**. The assistance afforded by the Jesuits in this revolution is rewarded by almost unlimited power in ecclesiastical and great influence in civil affairs.
- 1641 The cortes assembles and accepts João IV. France and Holland send fleets. England recognises the king. Caminha conspiracy to restore Spanish power betrayed by the Spanish marquis De Ayamonte. The leaders executed.
- 1644 Albuquerque defeats the Spaniards at Montijo.
- 1645 Revolts against Dutch rule in Brazil and consequent breach with Holland.
- 1648 Benguela and Angola recovered from the Dutch.

- 1650 The revolted English fleet under Prince Rupert takes refuge in the Tagus. The Portuguese refuse to allow the parliamentary admiral Blake to enter the river. Blake attacks Portuguese merchantmen.
- 1652 Commercial treaty with England, greatly in the latter's favour.
- 1654 The Dutch expelled from Brazil.
- 1656 João IV dies and is succeeded by his thirteen-year-old son **Alfonso VI**. Marshal Schomberg with a picked band of French officers comes to the assistance of Portugal.
- 1658 The Dutch take the last Portuguese stronghold in Ceylon.
- 1659 Menezes defeats the Spaniards at Elvas. In the treaty of the Pyrenees, France promises Spain to abandon Portugal.
- 1661 Spaniards invade Portugal.
- 1662 English alliance secured by the marriage of the king's sister with Charles II and the cession of Tangier and Bombay with a grant of free trade with Portuguese dominions. Alfonso VI declares himself of age.
- 1663 The count of Villa Flor defeats Don John of Austria at Amegial and recovers Evora.
- 1664 Magalhães defeats the Spaniards at Ciudad Rodrigo. The Dutch take the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Malabar.
- 1665 The Portuguese crush the Spaniards at Montes-Claros.
- 1666 The king marries the French princess Marie d'Aumale.
- 1667 Alfonso's excesses lead to a revolution in favour of his brother Dom Pedro. Alfonso imprisoned. The queen granted a divorce.
- 1668 Dom Pedro recognised as regent. Spain recognises Portugal's independence. The queen marries Dom Pedro.
- 1683 The king dies in prison. Dom Pedro succeeds as **Pedro II**.
- 1698 Portuguese expelled from Mombasa.

*Eighteenth Century*

- 1703 Paul Methuen, the English ambassador, negotiates the Methuen treaty which secures preference to Portuguese over French wines in England, and forms the basis of the subsequent friendship between the two countries. Portugal recognises the archduke Charles, the English candidate to the Spanish throne.
- 1704 Archduke Charles arrives in Lisbon with English forces and with Portuguese aid successfully invades Spain.
- 1706 Death of Pedro II. **João V** succeeds. João V under influence of Cadaval continues the war with Philip V of Spain.
- 1707 The allied forces of Portuguese, Dutch, and English defeated by the Spaniards at Almansa.
- 1709 Portuguese under Fronteira defeated at Caia.
- 1711 A French fleet under Duguay-Trouin bombards and pillages Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- 1715 Peace with Spain.
- 1717 Portuguese fleet defeats Turks off Cape Matapan.
- 1728 Mombasa recovered by Portuguese.
- 1739 Bassein and Thana on the west coast of India lost to Portugal.
- 1740 Mombasa again lost.
- 1750 João dies and is succeeded by **José** who leaves the chief government to Pombal. The latter checks the Inquisition, improves the navy and finance. Colonia del Sacramento ceded to Spain in exchange for territory in Paraguay.
- 1753 Revolt against the transference of territory in South America attributed to Jesuit instigation. Revolt suppressed.
- 1755 The great earthquake at Lisbon destroys forty thousand inhabitants. Chartered company established to trade with Brazil.
- 1757 Pombal expels the Jesuits from court.
- 1758 Pombal persuades the pope to decree the confiscation of merchandise belonging to Jesuits. Mysterious Tavora plot, and attempt on José's life.
- 1759 The Jesuits charged with the plot and expelled from Portuguese territories. New Goa replaces Old Goa as capital of the Portuguese Indies.
- 1760 The pope permits José's daughter to marry her uncle Pedro.
- 1762 The Spaniards invade Portugal and capture Braganza and Almeida with aid of English under Burgoyne and Count Schaumburg-Lippe. The Spaniards are beaten at Valencia de Alcantara and Villa Velha and
- 1763 peace made. Schaumburg-Lippe remains to re-organise the Portuguese army.
- 1769 Pombal saves José from assassination.
- 1773 Pombal issues a decree providing for the future abolition of slavery in Portugal. Clement XIV abolishes the Jesuit order.

- 1777 José dies leaving the throne to his daughter **Maria I** with her husband **Pedro III**.
- 1781 José's widow obtains the power and drives Pombal from court.
- 1786 Maria's husband and eldest son die and
- 1788 her mind gives way.
- 1792 Her son Dom João acts as regent and puts down sympathisers with the French Revolution.
- 1793 Portugal joins Spain in the disastrous war with France.
- 1795 By the treaty of Bâle, Spain makes a separate peace with France.
- 1796 War with Spain averted by the arrival of English aid.
- 1799 Dom João declared regent.
- 1800 Lucien Bonaparte at Madrid offers Portugal impossible terms of peace with Spain and France.

*Nineteenth Century*

- 1801 Olivenza, Campo Mayor, etc., taken by the French and Spaniards. Franco-Spanish victories of Arronches and Flor da Rosa. Peace with Spain and France with large cessions by Portugal. Napoleon sends Lannes as minister, and Portugal consents to all demands. Portugal's neutrality recognised by France.
- 1804 Napoleon requires Portugal to join the Continental System and exclude British vessels from her ports. The Portuguese government hesitates.
- 1807 France and Spain sign the treaty of Fontainebleau, agreeing to conquer and divide Portugal. Junot and Caraffa invade Portugal; Taranco and Solano occupy the south. The people welcome them. On English advice Dom João names a council of regency, and sails for Brazil just as the French enter Lisbon.
- 1808 Junot declares that the house of Braganza has ceased to reign, and divides Portugal into military provinces. Junot leaves Lisbon, and the regency calls on the people to rise; revolts against the French in many places and appeal to England. Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) arrives with English troops. Wellesley defeats La. Borda at Roliça and Junot at Vimeiro. Convention of Cintra by which Junot agrees to evacuate Portugal.
- 1809 Soult takes and plunders Oporto, but is expelled by Wellesley, who invades Spain but retreats after winning the battle of Talavera. Beresford organises the Portuguese army. The English ambassador added to the regency.
- 1810 Masséna commissioned to reconquer Portugal; he takes Almeida. Wellington defeats Masséna at Busaco and retires to the lines of Torres Vedras, which he defends for more than a year against all attacks.
- 1811 till Masséna is compelled to retreat, when he is followed by Wellington and defeated at Fuentes de Onoro. Wellington withdraws to Portugal.
- 1812 Wellington again invades Spain.
- 1814 End of Peninsular War. England grants Portuguese sufferers £100,000. The Portuguese court remains in Brazil, while Portugal is left in the hands of Beresford and the English. Great discontent excited by the treatment of Portugal as a province of England.
- 1815 Portuguese monarchy given the title of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Patriotic agitations and secret societies formed to restore the Portuguese to their position as a nation.
- 1816 Maria I dies, and the regent becomes king as **João VI**.
- 1817 Monte Video occupied by the Portuguese. General de Andrade's plot for revolt against the English betrayed and the leaders executed. Revolts in Brazil put down.
- 1818 Severe edicts against clubs and secret societies in Portugal. The agitation against foreign rule increases.
- 1820 Beresford goes to Brazil. Rising in Oporto. The English are expelled and a new regency and assembly formed, which abolishes the Inquisition and draws up a constitution, afterwards known as the constitution of 1822, constituting the cortes as one elective chamber.
- 1821 João VI returns from Brazil. The queen Carlota Joaquina and her second son Dom Miguel become the centre of absolutist reaction and are expelled from Lisbon. Disputes between Portuguese and Brazilian deputies in the cortes.
- 1822 Brazil secures independence under João's son Pedro, who is chosen emperor as Pedro I.
- 1823 A rebellion in Tras-os-Montes. João revises the constitution. A Brazilian fleet defeats the Portuguese.
- 1824 The king's son Miguel revolts, but the revolt is suppressed by the energy of the foreign ambassadors, and a new constitution establishes the cortes in their ancient form, divided into three estates.

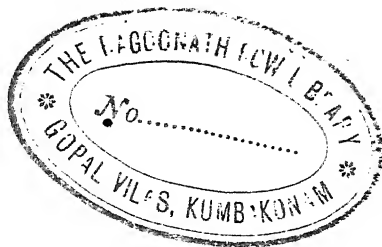
- 1825 The royal family goes to Brazil, where João is accepted as emperor, then abdicates in favour of Pedro, acknowledging the independence of Brazil.
- 1826 João VI dies. **Pedro IV** grants a constitutional charter. He abdicates the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter **Maria II** (Maria da Gloria) aged seven, who is under the regency of her aunt Isabella Maria. Miguel swears fidelity to the constitution. Marquis of Chaves raises an insurrection for Miguel. Miguel is betrothed to Maria. English troops called in to keep order.
- 1827 Miguel made regent and English troops withdraw.
- 1828 Miguel exiles his enemies. **Miguel** proclaims himself king and abolishes parliament. Miguel's forces capture Madeira.
- 1829 Miguel defeated by constitutionalists at Terceira.
- 1830 A council of regency under Villa Flor (Terceira), Palmella, etc., appointed for Maria in the Azores.
- 1831 Dom Pedro resigns the crown of Brazil to his son, and meeting Maria in London prepares to overthrow Miguel. Insurrection against Miguel put down.
- 1832 Pedro takes Oporto and is besieged there by Miguel who is defeated. Miguel's fleet beaten by Sartorius.
- 1833 Saldanha victorious at Oporto. Pedro's fleet under Napier defeats Miguel at Cape St. Vincent. Lisbon occupied for Pedro. **Maria II** proclaimed queen and the charter of 1826 restored.
- 1834 Quadruple alliance of Portugal, Spain, England, and France to expel Miguel and the Spanish pretender Don Carlos. Saldanha defeats Miguelites at Torres and Novas. Napier reduces Beira. Villa Flor overruns Tras-os-Montes and is victorious at Asseiceira. Miguel surrenders at Evora and goes into exile. The cortes abolishes the orders of friars. Massacres in Lisbon. The queen declared of age. Dom Pedro dies. The ministry under Palmella deals severely with Miguelites, causing frequent insurrections. The ministry by repudiation destroys national credit.
- 1835 Maria da Gloria marries Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg. Prince consort dies.
- 1836 Maria marries Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. September revolution at Lisbon under Caldeira
- 1838 compels the grant of the new constitution of 1838, based on that of 1822.
- 1842 Costa Cabral succeeds in abolishing the constitution of 1838, and substituting the charter of 1826.
- 1846 Sá da Bandeira leads an insurrection of the Septembrists (or partisans of the constitution of 1838), called the war of Maria da Fonte or "patuleia." Costa Cabral flees to Spain. Royal troops victorious at Evora. English ships arrive. Bandeira defeated by Saldanha at Torres Vedras.
- 1847 Insurgents take Oporto. England, France, and Spain agree to intervene. Bandeira surrenders. Oporto yields to royal troops. Convention of Granada arranges amnesty.
- 1850 American fleet collects claims.
- 1851 Saldanha raises an insurrection. Oporto declares for Saldanha. He is made prime minister.
- 1852 The Cortes revises the constitution, and queen and prince royal swear allegiance to it. Public debt funded.
- 1853 Maria II dies, leaving her husband as regent for her son **Pedro V**.
- 1854 Royal slaves freed.
- 1855 The king comes of age.
- 1856 Saldanha ministry resigns. First railway opened.
- 1857 Fever ravages Lisbon. The French slave-ship *Charles-et-Georges* seized.
- 1858 The French government threatens war; the ship is released and Portugal compelled to pay compensation.
- 1861 Pedro dies of cholera and is succeeded by his brother **Luiz I**.
- 1862 Duke of Loulé prime minister. Luiz marries the daughter of the king of Italy.
- 1864 Portugal protects Confederate privateers and has difficulties with the United States.
- 1865 The colonies receive constitutional privileges.
- 1866 The Spanish general Prim ordered out of Portugal.
- 1869 Saldanha, objecting to the Duke of Loulé, compels his dismissal (1870) and forms a ministry. He is soon after sent as ambassador to England.
- 1876 Financial panic.
- 1878-1883 The house of peers loses hereditary privileges.
- 1880 Celebration in honour of Camoens and Vasco da Gama.
- 1883 Fontes Pereira de Mello prime minister.
- 1887 Macao, hitherto leased to Portugal, formally ceded by China. Delagoa Bay Railway confiscated by Portuguese government.
- 1889 Riots at Oporto. King Luiz dies and is succeeded by **Carlos I**. Difficulties with England over rival claims in East Africa.

- 1890 England threatens war and Portugal yields under protest. Riots result. England and United States remonstrate against seizure of Delagoa Railway. The question submitted to Swiss arbitration. Collisions between English and Portuguese troops in East Africa.
- 1891 Military revolt in Oporto. British steamer seized and stopped. Agreement arrived at with Great Britain. Financial panic.
- 1892 Large reductions in expenditures. Great storms.
- 1893 Renewed activity among the Miguelistas — supporters of Dom Miguel.
- 1894 Railway dispute with France. Celebration of 500th anniversary of birth of Prince Henry the Navigator. War with nations near Lourenço Marques.
- 1895 Electoral reforms. House of peers remodelled and made to consist of twelve bishops, the princes of the blood royal, and ninety members nominated by the king. Portuguese under Colonel Galhardo victorious in the war near Lourenço Marques.
- 1897 400th anniversary of Vasco da Gama's first voyage.
- 1899 Portugal remains neutral during the Boer War, but permits the British to search for contraband of war imported via Lourenço Marques.
- 1900 Delagoa Bay Railway award. The Portuguese government retains the railway, but has to pay compensation.

*Twentieth Century*

- 1901 The king, to commemorate the opening of the new century, grants a general amnesty to all convicted of political and press offences. The king visits London in order to attend Queen Victoria's funeral ceremony in London, but on account of disturbances at home has to hurry back. Riots at Oporto.
- 1902 Dom Carlos visits the king of England and on his return the king of Spain, and re-enters Lisbon amid acclamation. Financial conditions cause much trouble throughout Portugal.
- 1903 The cabinet resigns, February 27th. A new cabinet is formed on the following day. King Edward of England visits Lisbon. Portuguese troops at Oporto mutiny and proclaim the Republic.
- 1904 Activity in colonies. Disaster to a Portuguese force in Angola. Treaty with Holland affecting Timor Island.





## A GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPANISH HISTORY

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**Alfonso X**, known as the Learned, Spanish language and literature owe an enormous debt. He was the first to take the Castilian tongue, as the official language, and he made use of it in his own writings. Numerous are the literary works which bear his name and were, some written by him, some compiled under his direction. The chief that concern us here are of two classes, historical and legislative. Of the former class the principal is the *Estoria de España* or *Crónica general*. There is a dispute as to how much of this was written by Alfonso himself. Some authorities credit him with the whole. It extends from the creation to Alfonso's own accession and is based partly on older histories, partly on tradition and poetic legends of which it is a perfect storehouse. Of the *Siete Partidas*, which belong to the second class and were called by Alfonso *El Setenario*, Ticknor says that they "do not always read like a collection of statutes. . . . They often seem rather to be a series of treatises on legislation, morals, and religion divided with great formality into Parts, Titles, and Laws."

**Al Makkari**, Analectos de la historia literaria y política de los árabes de España, Leipsic, 1858, 4 vols.; History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, translated, with notes by Samuel de Gayangos, London, 1840-1843, 2 vols.

**Abul Abbas Ahmad ibn Mohammed Al Makkari**, the Arab historian, was born about 1585 at Tlemcen in Algeria. About 1620 he settled at Cairo, having been exiled from his own country, — why is not known. His history was undertaken in response to a request from his friend at Damascus who had been deeply interested by the oral descriptions of the doings of the Spanish Arabs with which he had entertained them when on a visit to Damascus in 1598. He died in 1631.

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**Annales Complutenses**. The word Complutenses is derived from Complutum, the Roman name for Alcalá de Henares. The anonymous writer of this brief historical summary wrote in the twelfth century.

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**Annales Toledanos**. The author of the early portion of these annals of Toledo lived in the thirteenth century.

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*Nicolás Antonio* was born at Seville in 1617, and educated there and at the university of Salamanca. He afterwards returned to Seville where he drew on the treasures of the library of the monastery of San Benito in the composition of his *Bibliotheca Hispana* which forms a literary history, the first part of which extends to 1500, the second (which appeared in 1672) to 1670. In 1654 Philip IV sent Antonio to Rome as his general agent. He afterwards filled the office of agent to the Spanish Inquisition. He died in 1684.

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*Pedro López de Ayala*, celebrated as knight, poet, and historian, was born in 1332, and died in 1407. He entered the service of Pedro the Cruel of Castile and sided with the king in the latter's earlier struggles with his revolted brothers and nobles, distinguishing himself chiefly by his exploits on the sea. When King Pedro was driven out by his brother Henry of Trastámara, Ayala joined Henry. He was taken prisoner by the English at Navarrete, but afterwards ransomed. Under Henry II and Juan II he filled important offices. At the Battle of Aljubarrota he was captured by the Portuguese and released only on payment of an enormous ransom. Translations from Isidore of Seville, Boccaccio, Titus Livius, etc., are among his writings as well as a treatise on the duties of kings and nobles, called *El Rimado de Palacio*, but the chief of his works is the *Crónicas*. This is written with elegance and simplicity of style and much skill in delineation of character. He is accused of unduly blackening the character of King Pedro.

**Bacallar y Sanna**, Marques de San Felipe, Vicente, *Comentarios de la guerra de España hasta el Año 1725*, Genoa, 2 vols.

*Vicente Bacallar y Sanna* was a Spaniard born in Sardinia about 1660. Under Charles II he held various diplomatic posts. In the war of the Spanish Succession he sided with Philip V and was created Marquis of San Felipe by that monarch. Besides his history of the war of succession he left a history of the Jewish monarchy.

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*Cæsar Baronius*, the great ecclesiastical historian, was born in the kingdom of Naples in 1538, and died at Rome, 1607. His *Annales Ecclesiastici* were written as an answer on behalf of the Church of Rome to the Protestant history called the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Baronius became a cardinal in 1596 and subsequently librarian of the Vatican.

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*Hermann Baumgarten* was born at Lesse in Brunswick in 1825, and between the years 1842 and 1848 studied philology and history at no less than five universities, namely Jena, Halle, Leipsic, Bonn, and Göttingen. He then became a teacher in the gymnasium at Brunswick, and from 1850-1852 was editor of the *Reichszeitung* in that city. But in 1852 he resumed his historical studies at Heidelberg and subsequently at Munich. Here he was associated with the starting of the *Süddeutschen Zeitung*. In 1861 he became professor of history and literature at the Karlsruhe Polytechnicum and in 1872 in the university of Strasburg. His works include various political writings, but those on Spanish history here cited are his chief title to fame.

**Baumgartner, A.**, "Der Cid in der Geschichte," in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1898.

*Alexander Baumgartner* was the son of the celebrated statesman and savant, Andreas Baumgartner. In 1860 he entered the Order of Jesuits and subsequently taught in their colleges at Feldkirch and Stonyhurst. After the abolition of the order he retired to Holland and devoted himself to literature, becoming part editor of the periodical, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.

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**Andrés Bernaldez**, known as "the Curate of Los Palacios," lived in the last half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was *Cura* of the town of Los Palacios from 1488-1513, and afterwards chaplain to Archbishop Diego de Deza. He was present at many of the scenes he describes and acquainted with many of the great men of his day, including Columbus. He shows considerable knowledge of foreign affairs, and gives many details not reported by his contemporaries.

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**Jaime Bleda** (1550-1622) was the *cura* of a town which contained many Moriscos to whom he was vehemently opposed. It was he who, in conjunction with the archbishop of Valencia, persuaded Philip III to issue the decree of 1609, ordering the Moriscos to leave Spanish territory.

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**Andrés Borrego**, born in 1801, was minister of finance in Spain in 1840. He was one of those who supported the idea of a union between Spain and Portugal. Besides the books here mentioned, he wrote works on political economy.

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**Francisco Javier de Burgos**, born 1778, died 1849, was a Spanish politician distinguished as a writer in the two opposite fields of poetry and economics. Being expelled from his seat in the upper house on a charge afterwards disproved, he devoted himself to the composition of a history of the reign under which he had held office.

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The statesman, **Antonio Cánovas del Castillo**, was born in Malaga in 1828 and was the son of a professor in the naval college of San Telmo. He was not eighteen when he attempted to start a periodical called *la Joven Malaga*, but it failed and he had to accept a small post on the Madrid Aranjuez railway. But he soon turned again to journalism and published his first and chief historical work. Cánovas is credited with a considerable share in a periodical called *El Murciélago*, of which only a few numbers appeared, but in which the most violent attacks were directed against various prominent persons not excluding royalty. Cánovas was credited with a considerable share in this as well as with the authorship of the manifesto of Manzanares (1854). He now entered the cortes and filled various offices of state in succession. He held aloof from the revolution of 1868 and during the reign of King Amadeo, though he made a brilliant speech in defence of the exiled sovereigns; but after Amadeo's retirement he was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the return of Alfonso XII, during most of whose reign he was premier. He again held office from 1890-1893, and in 1895, when he devoted his attention to the severe repression of the Cuban insurrection. In the midst of the struggle he was murdered by an anarchist (August, 1897).

**Capefigue**, B. H. R., *Isabelle de Castille*, 1869. — **Carbajal**, L. G. de, *Historia de España* M. S.; *Anales del rey Don Fernando el Católico*. — **Carvajal**, La España de los Borbones, 1844, 4 vols. — **Casado**, F. S., *Historia de España*. — **Casas**, B. de las, *Historia general de las Indias*, Madrid, 1875-1876; *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, Seville, 1552, in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. 7, Madrid, 1879.

**Bartolomé de las Casas** or *Casaus* was of French descent. His father, Francisco Casaus, was in Hispaniola with Columbus in 1493, and returned to Seville with a fortune in 1500. In the same year Bartolomé, who had been born in 1474, went to Salamanca, where he studied jurisprudence. He then went to Hispaniola with the governor, Nicolás Ovando, and in 1510 took holy orders. In 1515 he returned to Spain to protest against the ill treatment of the natives of the West Indies by the Spaniards. Through the influence of Cardinal Ximenes he obtained the nomination of special commissioners to inquire into the abuses of authority. He was himself appointed to act as their adviser. The colonists proved too powerful and the mission failed in its object. Las Casas, expelled from Hispaniola, returned to Spain. After some difficulty he obtained the acceptance of his suggestions for improving the government of the West Indies, the chief of which was the unfortunate one of the substitution of negro for native labour. He returned to America and this time succeeded in obtaining better treatment for the Indians, who were finally declared free by a royal edict of 1543. He died at Madrid in 1569.

**Casiri**, M., *Bibliotheca arabigo-hispana escorialensis*, Madrid, 1750-1770, 2 vols.

**Michael Casiri** was born in Tripoli, Syria, in 1710. By birth he was a Syro-Maronite and his life was chiefly devoted to oriental studies though in 1734 he took holy orders. In 1749 he was appointed librarian of the Escorial. His *Bibliotheca* consists of extracts from and articles on the Arabian documents in the library of the Escorial.

**Castelar**, E., *Historia del año 1833*, Madrid, 1884; *Discursos Parlamentarios*, Madrid, 1885, 4 vols.

**Emilio Castelar y Ripoll**, celebrated as orator, writer, and statesman, was born at Cadiz in 1832. He took his degree of doctor of philosophy in his twenty-second year. He was editor of various newspapers in succession and an eloquent exponent of republican ideas which he continued to be after succeeding to the chair of Spanish History in the Universidad Central (1858), till the government forced him to resign. He shared in the revolution of 1866 and was consequently condemned to death. He escaped to Paris, where he remained till the revolution of 1868 made possible his return to Madrid, when he became one of the leaders of the republican party and headed the opposition during the reign of King Amadeo, on whose resignation Castelar attained the chief power under the republic. He governed ably, but his republicanism became suspected, and early in 1874 he was overthrown by a vote of want of confidence. He retired for a time to Paris, but soon returned to Spain and resumed his political career as deputy to the cortes. His numerous works include novels and speeches on various political questions.

**Castillo**, D. Enriquez de, *Crónica del rey Don Henrique el Quarto*, Madrid, 1787. — **Castro**, A. Gomez de, *De rebus gestis Francisci Jimenii*. — **Castro y Rossi**, A. de, *El conde duque de Olivares y el rey Felipe IV*, Cadiz and Madrid, 1846; *Historia de los judíos en España*, Cadiz and Madrid, 1847; *Historia de los protestantes Españoles*, Cadiz and Madrid, 1851; *Examen filosófico sobre la decadencia de España*, Cadiz and Madrid, 1852. — **Cavanilles y Centi**, A. C., *Historia de España* (to the reign of Philip II), Madrid, 1860-1864, 5 vols. — **Céspedes y Meneses**, G. de, *Historia de Don Felipe III*, Lisbon, 1631. — **Cevallos**, P., *Exposición de los hechos y maquinaciones que han preparado la usurpación de la corona de España*, Madrid, 1808; *History of the practices and machinations which led to the usurpation of the crown of Spain*, London, 1808. — **Chaby**, C. de, *Excerptos historicos e collecção de documentos relativos á guerra denominada da península*, Lisbon, 1863. — **Châteaubriand**, F. R. A. de, *Guerre d'Espagne de 1823*, Paris, 1838; *Le Congrès de Vérone*, Paris, 1838, 2 vols. — **Cherbuliez**, V. C., *L'Espagne politique*, Paris, 1874. — *Chronica Albeldensis* in Flórez's *España Sagrada*.

*Chronicon Albeldense*. This is the work of two authors; the first, an anonymous monk of Albelda, wrote in the ninth century. His portion extends from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Alfonso III. The second author was the monk Vigila, of the same monastery, who coming a century later continued the narrative down to the year 976. He is the earliest authority for the history of Navarre.

*Chronicon Conimbricense* in Flórez's *España Sagrada*. — *Chronicon Moissacense*. — **Churton**, E., Góngora, an historical and critical essay on the times of Philip III and Philip IV, London, 1862, 2 vols. — **Circourt**, A. M. J. E., *Histoire des Mores Madejares et des Moresques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la domination des chrétiens*, Paris, 1845-1848, 3 vols. — **Clarke**, Letters concerning the state of Spain, London, 1763. — **Clarke**, H. B., *The Cid Campeador and the Waning of the Crescent in the West*, New York, 1897, in *Heroes of the Nations*. — **Clemencin**, D., *Elogio de la reina católica Doña Isabella*, in *Mem. Academia*, 1821. — **Clinton**, H. R., *The War in the Peninsula*, London, 1878. — *Colección de docu-*

mentos inéditos para la historia de España por M. Fernandez Navarrete, et al., Madrid, 1842-1895, 112 vols.; vol. 30 contains an index of the volumes preceding. — **Colección** de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, Madrid, 1864-1890, first series, 42 vols. Also **Colección** de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar. Second series published by the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, 1885-1900, 13 vols. — **Colección** de libros españoles raros y curiosos, Madrid, 1871-1892. — **Colección** legislativa de España, Madrid, 1816 (in progress), 330 vols. — **Colmeiro**, M., Reyes cristianos desde Alfonso VI hasta Alfonso XI, Madrid, 1893. — **Colmenares**, D. de, Historia de Segovia y compendio de la historia de Castilla, Segovia, 1637-1847. — **Conde**, J. A., Historia de la dominación de los Arabes en España, Madrid, 1820-1821, 3 vols.; English translation by Mrs. J. Foster, London, 1860, 3 vols.; History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain, London, 1854, 3 vols.

**José Antonio Conde** (1765-1820), was at one time regarded as the great authority on the history of the Spanish Arabs. He was educated at the University of Salamanca, a member of various learned societies, and for long *conservador* of the Escorial library. In 1814 he was exiled for political reasons and he died in great poverty. Modern students of the history of the Spanish Arabs have convicted Conde of many errors and faults of judgment, but it is acknowledged that he was a laborious scholar.

**Coppée**, H., History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors, Boston, 1881, 2 vols. — **Cos-Gayon**, F., Historia de la administración pública de España, Madrid, 1851. — **Coxe**, W., Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, London, 1815, 5 vols. — **Crónica** de Don Alvaro de Luna, Milan, 1546, Madrid, 1784. — **Crónica** del rey Don Rodrigo, Alcalá, 1587. — **Curry**, J. L. M., Constitutional Government in Spain, New York, 1889. — **Cushing**, Caleb, Reminiscences of Spain, 1833, 2 vols. — **Custine**, M. de, L'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII, Paris, 1838, 4 vols.

**Dahn**, F., Die Könige der Germanen, Würzburg and Leipsic, 1861-1895. — **Danvila y Collado**, M., Historia del Reinado de Carlos III, Madrid, 1893-1896, 6 vols. — **Daumet**, G., Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris, 1898. — **De Labra**, R. M., Historia de las relaciones internacionales de España, Madrid, 1897; La Crisis colonial en España, Madrid, 1902. — **De la Escosura y Hevia**, A., Inicio crítico del feudalismo en España, Madrid, 1856. — **Del Cantillo**, A., Tratados, convenios y declaraciones de paz y de comercio que han hecho con las potencias extranjeras los monarcas españoles de la Casa de Bourbon, 1700-1842, Madrid, 1843. — **Desclot**, B., Crónica del rey En Pere in Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Orleans, 1876.

**Bernardo Desclot**, one of the greatest of Catalan historians, lived in the reigns of James I and Pedro III of Aragon. Little is known of his life. He wrote the story of the events of his own day in the Catalan language, and prefixed the narrative by a short account of the counts of Barcelona and kings of Aragon preceding James I.

**Desdèvises du Degert**, G., L'Espagne de l'ancien régime, Paris, 1897 (in progress, 2 vols. already published). — **Desormeaux**, J. L. R., Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire d'Espagne et de Portugal, 1758, 5 vols. — **Diercks**, G., Geschichte Spaniens, Berlin, 1895-1896, 2 vols. — **Dillon**, J. T., History of the Reign of Pedro the Cruel, 1788, 2 vols. — **Dochez**, and **Paquis**, A., Histoire d'Espagne et de Portugal, Paris, 1844-1848, 2 vols. — **Dormer**, D. J., Progresos de la historia en Aragon, Saragossa, 1680. — **Dozy**, R. P., Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne, Leyden, 1845, 1860, 1881, 2 vols.; Le Cid d'après de nouveaux documents, 1860; Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides, Leyden, 1861, 4 vols.

**Reinhart Dozy**, an eminent Dutch orientalist of French extraction was born in Leyden in 1820 and died there in 1883. He was an extraordinary linguist and wrote almost equally well in every European language beside being deeply versed in most of the Semitic languages but especially the Arabic. In 1850 he became professor in the University of Leyden. He was the first to shake the high reputation of the historian Conde by pointing out his numerous errors. Dozy's historical investigations were made in the archives of various countries, especially of course in Spain. He edited a number of the works of Arab writers with commentaries and glossaries and published a dictionary of the names of Arab garments.

**Ducasse**, Mémoires et correspondance politique du roi Joseph, Paris, 1853-1855, 10 vols. — **Du Hamel**, V., Historia constitucional de la monarquía española, translated from the French by B. A. y Espinosa, Madrid, 1848, 2 vols. — **Duncan**, F., The English in Spain; or, the Story of the War of Succession between 1834-1840, London, 1877. — **Dunham**, S. A., History of Spain and Portugal, London, 1832, 5 vols. — **Dunlop**, J., Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II, Edinburgh, 1834, 2 vols. — **Duran**, A., Romancero General, Madrid, 1857-1861. — **Duro**, C. F., La armada invencible, Madrid, 1884-1885, 2 vols.



**Eckstein, F.**, Espagne, considérations sur son passé, son présent, son avenir, 1836. — **Elliot, F. M.**, Old Court Life in Spain, London, 1893, 2 vols.; La España del siglo XIX, Madrid, 1885-1887, 3 vols. A series of historical lectures delivered in the Athenæum of Madrid. — **Everhard Nidart, P. J.**, Varias obras correspondientes á la regencia de la reina Doña Maria Ana de Neoburg; sucesos de Don Juan de Austria (in Semanario Erudito), 1788.

**Fabricius, A. K.**, La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne Musulmane en 844, Lisbon, 1892. — **Fernald, J. C.**, The Spaniard in History, New York, 1898. — **Fernán-Núñez, Conde de**, Vida de Carlos III, published by A. Morel-Fatio and A. Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1898, 2 vols. — **Ferrer del Río, A.**, Exámen histórico crítico del reinado de Don Pedro de Castilla, 1850; Historia del reinado de Carlos III de España, Madrid, 1856, 4 vols. — **Ferreras, J. de**, Synopsis histórica cronológica de España, Madrid, 1775-1781, 17 vols. — **Field, H. M.**, Old Spain and New Spain, London, 1888. — **Flórez, Enrique**, Memorias de las reynas católicas, historia genealógica de la casa real de Castilla y de Leon, Madrid, 1761, 1790, 2 vols.; España Sagrada teatro geográfico-histórico de la iglesia de España, Madrid, 1747, 51 vols.; Llave historial, Madrid, 1743, 1790; España carpetana, Medallas de las colonias, municipios y pueblos antiguos de España, Madrid, 1757.

*El Padre Enrique Flórez*, historian, archæologist, theologian, and numismatist, was born at Valladolid in 1701, and entered the order of St. Augustine in his fifteenth year. His *España Sagrada* is the work most usefully consulted in studying the history and antiquities of Spain, containing, as it does, so many documents, notices and illustrations bearing on the subject, and greatly valued for the high critical faculty and scrupulous care exhibited by its author. Flórez left also works on theology and a treatise on botany and the natural sciences. He was corresponding member of the French Academy of inscriptions and *belles-lettres*, and enjoyed the friendship of many prominent men of his age. He died in 1773.

**Forneron, Histoire de Philippe II**, Paris, 1881-1882, 4 vols. — **Forster, J.**, Chronicle of James I, translated from the Catalan, London, 1883, 2 vols. — **Foulché-Delbosc, R.**, Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal, Paris, 1896. — **Foy, M. S.**, Histoire de la guerre de la péninsule sous Napoléon, Paris, 1827, 4 vols. — **Froissart, John**, Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre, d'Écosse, d'Espagne, de Bretagne, Paris, 1869-1888, 8 vols. (trans. T. Johnes, London, 1857, 2 vols.). — **Froude, J. A.**, The Spanish Story of the Armada, 1892.

**Gachard, L. P.**, Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas, Brussels, 1848-1879, 5 vols.; Retraite et mort de Charles Quint, 1854-1855; Don Carlos et Philippe II, Brussels, 1863, 1867, 2 vols.; Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur Charles V et Philippe II.

*Louis Prosper Gachard*, the Belgian historian, born at Paris in 1800, died at Brussels, 1885, was keeper of the Belgian archives, to which appointment he succeeded in 1826. Besides putting in order the existing archives he greatly added to the documents contained in them and caused researches to be made throughout Europe for papers which might throw light on Belgian history. His works are valued both for their impartial historical spirit and their literary style as well as for the fresh light they throw on the periods with which they deal.

**Gallenga, A.**, Iberian Reminiscences, 1883, 2 vols. — **García, J. C.**, Castilla y Leon durante los reinados de Pedro I, Enrique II, Juan I, Enrique III, Madrid, 1891. — **Gardiner, S. R.**, Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty, Spanish and English, London, 1859; Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, 1617-1623, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Garibay y Zamalloa, E.**, Los quarenta libros del compendio historial de las crónicas y universal historia de España, Antwerp, 1571, Barcelona, 1628, 4 vols.

*Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa* (1525-1599) was appointed by Philip II as chronicler of his reign. He was a laborious collector of historical information, who, though extremely credulous, served to some extent as a model to Mariana and other historians.

**Gayangos, P. de**, History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, London, 1840, 2 vols.; Historia de los reyes de Granada, Paris, 1842; Cartas del Cardinal Cisneros, Madrid, 1867; Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortes al emperador Carlos V, Paris, 1870. — **Gebhardt, Historia general de España**, Barcelona, 1897, 7 vols. — **Geddes, M.**, Wars of the Commons of Castile in the reign of Charles V, 1730. — **George, A.**, Memoirs of the Queens of Spain, London, 1850. — **Gibbon, E.**, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, London, 1853. — **Giovio, P.**, Historia sui temporis 1494-1547, Florence, 1548, 2 vols. — **Godoy, M.**, Mémoires, Paris, 1839-1841, 6 vols.; partial translation, London, 1836, 2 vols. — **Gómez de Arteche y Moro, J.**, Guerra de la independencia 1808-1814, Madrid, 1868-1883, 5 vols.; Historia del Reinado de Carlos IV, Madrid, 1893.

General *José Gómez de Arteche y Moro* was born at Madrid in 1821 and entered the artillery in 1840. He took an active part in the events of July, 1856, siding with O'Donnell. He was under-secretary in the ministry of war in 1865 and 1868, and in 1878 became aide-de-camp to Alfonso XII. In 1885 he was elected senator for Guipuzcoa.

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**Gonsalez**, T., Apuntamientos para la historia del rey Don Felipe Segundo por lo tocante á sus relaciones con la reina Isabel de Inglaterra. — **Grabinski**, J. de, Amédée de Savoie, duc d'Aoste, roi d'Espagne. — **Graetz**, H., Geschichte der Juden, Berlin and Leipsic, 1853-1870, 11 vols.; 1888-1889, 3 vols. — **Granvella**, Cardinal A. P., Papiers d'état du Cardinal Granvella in Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris, 1841-1861, 9 vols.; Correspondance du Cardinal Granvella, 1565-1586, Brussels, 1878-1892, 9 vols. — **Guardia**, J. M., La cour de Rome et l'église d'Espagne. — **Guerre**, Caída y ruina del imperio visigótico, Madrid, 1883. — **Guizot**, F. P. G., Un projet de mariage royal, 1863. — **Guzman**, F. Perez de, Crónica del serenissimo principe, Don Juan II, Logroño, 1517, Valencia, 1779.

**Häbler**, Die wirtschaftliche Blüte Spaniens im 16. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1888. — **Hale**, E. E. and S., The Story of Spain in Story of the Nations, New York, 1891. — **Harcourt**, Henri duc d', Avènement des Bourbons au trône d'Espagne, Paris, 1875, 2 vols. — **Hare**, A., Wanderings in Spain, London, 1873. — **Havemann**, W., Darstellungen aus der innern Geschichte Spaniens während des 15., 16., und 17. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen, 1850; Das Leben des Don Juan d'Austria, Gotha, 1865. — **Hefele**, K. J., Der Kardinal Ximenes und die kirchlichen Zustände Spaniens am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, Tübingen, 1851. — **Henningsen**, C. F., The most striking events of a twelvemonth's Campaign with Zumalacarrégui, Philadelphia, 1836, 2 vols. — **Herrera y Tordesillas**, A. de, Historia general del mundo del tiempo del Señor Rey Don Felipe II, Madrid, 1601-1612, 3 vols.; Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano, Madrid, 1601-1615, 1728, 4 vols.; Tratado relacion y discurso histórico de los movimientos de Aragón.

*Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas* lived from 1549 to 1625. He studied in Spain and Italy, where he attracted the attention of Vespasiano di Gonzaga, who being appointed viceroy of Navarre and Valencia, made Herrera his private secretary and afterwards recommended him to Philip II, with the result that Herrera was appointed chief chronicler for America and a chronicler for Castile. He fulfilled these offices during the reigns of the three Philips and acquired a European reputation for capacity and exactitude. The second of the works above mentioned is the chief of many. Part of it is merely a condensation of that of Las Casas, but for the events of his own time he is a most valuable authority, and he had the advantage of access to documents of all kinds.

**Hidalgo**, D., Diccionario general de bibliografía española, Madrid, 1864-1879, 6 vols. — **Hill**, C., Story of the Princess des Ursins (Orsini) in Spain, New York, 1899. — **Hinojosa**, Eduardo de, Historia de los Visigodos. — **Höfler**, Kaiser Karls (V) erstes Auftreten in Spanien, Vienna, 1874. — **Houghton**, A., Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne. — **Howard**, O. O., Isabella of Castile, New York, 1894. — **Hubbard**, N. G., Histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne, Paris, 1869-1883, 6 vols. — **Huber**, V. A., Die Geschichte des Cid, Bremen, 1829; Chronica del Cid, Marburg, 1844. — **Huegel**, C. W., Spanien und die Revolution, 1821. — **Huerta**, F. M., Sobre qual de los reyes godos fué y debe contarse primero de las de su nación en España in Academia de la historia, Memorias, 1796. — **Hughes**, T. M., Revelations of Spain in 1845, London, 1845, 2 vols. — **Hume**, M. A. S., Philip II of Spain, London, 1845, 2 vols.; Spain, its Greatness and Decay, Cambridge, 1897; Modern Spain, 1788-1898, London and New York, 1899, in Story of the Nations; The Spanish People, their Origin, Growth, and Influence, New York, 1901. — **Hurtado de Mendoza**, D., see Mendoza, D. Hurtado de.

**Ibn Bassam**, Zakira, Tesoro ó cualidades de los habitantes de la península. — **Idatius**, Chronicum (379 A.D.-469 A.D.) in the Chronica Medii Aevi of Rösler, Tübingen, 1798.

The chronicle of *Idatius* belongs to the fifth century. Its author was a bishop of Chaves in Portugal, and a native of Lamego, where he was born towards the close of the fourth century. The work is brief, but supplies information not to be found elsewhere.

**Irving**, W., Conquest of Granada, New York, 1850, 1880; Companions of Columbus, New York, 1880. — **Isidorus Hispalensis**, Historia Gotorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum, Madrid, 1599, in S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia, Rome, 1797-1803, 7 vols.

*Isidorus Hispalensis* or *Saint Isidore* of Seville was the son of a wealthy citizen of Cartagena, where he was born about 570 A.D. His brother, St. Leander, Archbishop of Seville, bestowed great pains on his education, but becoming jealous of his remarkable learning shut him up in a monastery. On Leander's death Isidore became bishop of Seville. He was regarded as the glory of his age for learning, and left numerous works which, besides the *Historia* and numerous ecclesiastical writings, include a kind of general encyclopædia of the science of the period, known as the *Origines*.

**Isidorus Pacensis**, Chronicon, in Flórez's España Sagrada.

*Isidor Pacensis* was bishop of Pax Julia, whence his surname of Pacensis. Pax Julia is identified with the Portuguese town of Beja. The prelate wrote in the eighth century. The names of three of his works have come down to us, but one of them only is extant and is a *chronicon* extending to the year 754 A.D.

**Janer, F.**, Condición social de los Moriscos de España causas de su expulsion y consecuencias que en el orden económico esta produjo, in Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1857. — **Jiménez de Rada, R.**, see Ximenes Toletanus, Rodericus. — **Joannes Biclarensis**, Chronicon, in Flórez's España Sagrada.

**Joannes Biclarensis** lived in the last half of the sixth century. His birthplace was Santarem, but he derived his surname from the Latin form of Valclara (in Catalonia), of which he was abbot. He afterwards became bishop of Gerona. His *Chronicon* continues that of Idatius down to the year 590.

**Jones, Sir J. T.**, Journals of sieges carried on under the Duke of Wellington in Spain, London, 1846, 3 vols. — **Jordanes**, De Origine Gothorum, Augsburg, 1515, Venice, 1729. — **Julian, St.**, Historia Regis Wambæ in Flórez's España Sagrada. — **Junta, P. de**, and **J. B. Varesio** (editors), Crónica del famoso cavallero Cid Ruy Diez Campeador, 1593.

**Kaemmel, O.**, Illustrierte Weltgeschichte, Darmstadt, 1890, 10 vols. — **Kayserling, M.**, Geschichte der Juden in Spanien und Portugal, Berlin, 1861-1867, 2 vols.

**La Fuente, V. de**, Juana la loca vindicada de la nota de herejia. — **Lafuente y Alcántara, M.**, Historia de Granada. — **Lafuente y Zamalloa, M.**, Historia general de España, Madrid, 1795, 1854.

**Modesto Lafuente y Zamalloa** (1806-1866) took his degree of bachelor of theology at the university of Valladolid in 1832, and afterwards successively filled chairs of philosophy, rhetoric, and theology. In 1837 he removed to Madrid, where he published a periodical entitled *Fray Gerundio*, through which he attacked existing abuses, advocated reforms, and set himself against the Carlist wars. This publication soon attained a wide circulation, and was continued till 1849, after which Lafuente turned his attention to his *Historia*. He subsequently became a deputy to the cortes for Astorga, and in 1860 member of the council of state. He was also a member of various academies.

**Landau, M.**, Geschichte Kaiser Karls VI als König von Spanien, Stuttgart, 1889. — **Lane-Poole, S.**, and **A. Gilman**, The Story of the Moors in Spain (Story of the Nations), New York, 1891. — **Las Casas**, see Casas. — **Lathbury, T.**, The Spanish Armada, London, 1840. — **Latimer, E. W.**, Spain in the Nineteenth Century, Chicago, 1897. — **Latour, A. T. de**, L'Espagne religieuse et littéraire, Paris, 1862. — **Laughton, J. K.**, State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, London, 1894, 2 vols. — **Lauser, W.**, Geschichte Spaniens vom Sturze Isabellas bis zur Thronbesteigung Alfonsos, Leipsic, 1877, 2 vols. — **Lavigne, G. de**, L'Espagne et le Portugal, 1855. — **Lawrence, E.**, Dominic, and the Inquisition, in Historical Studies, New York, 1873. — **Lea, H. C.**, Chapters from the religious history of Spain connected with the Inquisition, Philadelphia, 1890. — **Legrelle, A.**, La diplomatie française et la succession d'Espagne, 1659-1725, Paris, 1888-1892, 4 vols. — **Lembke, F. W.**, and **Schäfer, H.**, Geschichte von Spanien, Gotha, 1831-1890, 5 vols. — **Lemos, D. A.**, Historia general de Portugal, 1715-1789. — **Leopold**, Spaniens Bürgerkrieg, Hanover, 1876. — **Lezo del Pozo, J.**, Apologia del rey Don Pedro de Castilla conforme á la Crónica de Ayala. — **Limborch, P. van**, Historia Inquisitionis, Amsterdam, 1692; History of the Inquisition (abridged), London, 1816.

**Philip van Limborch**, a prominent Dutch theologian, was born in 1633 and died in 1712. He was professor of theology at the seminary of the remonstrants in Amsterdam. His *Historia* consists of a record of sentences given by the Inquisition of Toulouse, and is preceded by an account of the origin and methods of the Inquisition.

**Llorente, J. A.**, Opinion de l'Espagne sur l'inquisition, 1812; Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution d'Espagne, Paris, 1817, 3 vols.; Histoire critique de l'inquisition d'Espagne, Paris, 1817-1818, 4 vols.; History of the Inquisition of Spain (abridged), London, 1827.

**Juan Antonio Llorente**, born 1756, was a Spanish priest who became general secretary to the inquisition in 1789. A scheme for the reform of that tribunal which he drew up was about to be executed when the fall of the liberal minister Jovellanos prevented its realisation. In the war with France Llorente sided with the Bonapartists and became a member of the council of state of King Joseph. On the abolition of the inquisition (1809) Llorente was commissioned to investigate its archives and write its history. Thus he had access to materials now no longer in existence. On the restoration of the Bourbons Llorente was banished, and it was while in exile at Paris that his celebrated *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition* appeared in French and was soon translated into German, English, Dutch, Italian and Spanish. Its success was great, but it drew down a persecution of the author who on the publication of a book called *Portraits politiques des papes* (1822) was ordered to quit France. He died from the effects of the hurried journey to Madrid.

**Londonderry, Marquis of**, see Stewart. — **Lorenzana, Cardinal**, Collectio Sanctorum Patrum ecclesiae Toledanae, Madrid, 1782-1793. — **Louville, C. A. d'A.**, Mémoires secrets sur l'établissement de la maison de Bourbon en Espagne, 1818. — **Lowell, J. R.**, Impressions

of Spain. — **Lucas Tudensis**, *Chronicon Mundi*, in Schott's *Hispaniæ Illustratæ*, Frankfort, 1608.

*Lucas de Tuy*, or *Lucas Tudensis*, was a Spanish prelate who died in 1288. His *Chronicon*, which was finished in 1236, was written by command of the great queen Berengaria. It consists of four books: the first contains the *Six Ages of the World* of St. Isidore, with additions; the second, Isidore's treatise on the origin of the Goths, Spaniards, and Suevi; the third, the spurious chronicle of San Ildefonso and St. Julian's history. The fourth extends from the time of Pelayo to the conquest of Cordova. When the work was translated into Spanish, in the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, a continuation extending to 1252 was added.

**Luna, M. de**, *La verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*, Valencia, 1606.

*Miguel de Luna* was a Morisco who embraced Catholicism and became interpreter to Philip II. His history purports to be a translation from an Arab chronicler of the eighth century, but was really based on old romances and has no authoritative value.

**MacCrie, T.**, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century*, 1829. — **Mahon, Lord**, see Stanhope, P. H. — **Maistre, J. de**, *Lettres à un gentilhomme Russe sur l'inquisition espagnole*, 1837. — **Maldonado, J. M.**, *Historia de la revolución de España*, Madrid, 1833, 2 vols. — **Malo de Molina, M.**, *Rodrigo el Campeador*, *Estudio histórico*, Madrid, 1857. — **Malvezzi, V.**, *Sucesos principales de la monarquía de España en el tiempo de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1640. — **Mariana, Juan de**, *Historia general de España*, Valencia, 1783-1796, 9 vols.; in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Madrid, 1854, published in various later editions; English translation by J. S. Stephens, London, 1699.

*Juan de Mariana*, one of the most famous of Spanish historians, was born near Talavera in 1536, and in 1554 became a member of the Society of Jesus. Two years later he went to Rome, where he filled a chair in the Jesuit college. After visiting Sicily and lecturing on theology at Paris during five years, he returned to Spain in 1574 and devoted himself to his *Historia de España*, which was first written in Latin and then translated by himself into the Castilian tongue. The variety of his talents and acquirements is exhibited in his writings on philosophy, politics, finance, and religion, and in the last mentioned the freedom of his opinions exposed him to some suspicion from his order, and he was even brought before the inquisition. His history has enjoyed immense popularity and is still much admired, though it is acknowledged that he often confuses fact and fable.

**Marineo, Lucio**, *Obra de las cosas memorables de España*, Alcalá, 1533. — **Marliani, M. de**, *Histoire politique de l'Espagne moderne*, Paris, 1840, 2 vols. — **Marmol Carvajal, L. del**, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reyno de Granada*, Madrid, 1600, and in *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*.

*Luis del Marmol Carvajal* was a native of Granada who flourished in the sixteenth century. In 1535 he accompanied Charles V to Tunis. He was captured by the Moors, and both during and after his captivity made long journeys and voyages in and about Barbary and Egypt. His *Historia del rebelión* is the narrative of an eye-witness, and the language is pure though the style suffers from the too great length of the sentences.

**Martínez de la Rosa, F.**, *Hernán Pérez del Pulgar*, Madrid, 1834. — **Martínez Marina, F.**, *Teoría de las Cortes de León y Castilla*, Madrid, 1821, 3 vols.; *Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la antigua legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reynos de León y Castilla*, Madrid, 1834, 2 vols. — **Masdeu, J. F.**, *Historia crítica de España*, Madrid, 1783-1805, 20 vols.

*Juan Francisco Masdeu*, a celebrated Spanish historian, was born in 1744 and died in 1817. Educated under the care of the Jesuits, he entered their order in 1759, and on their expulsion from Spain retired to Ferrara. His *Historia* was commenced in 1781. It extends only down to the end of the eleventh century. It is a work of much learning and destroys many fables previously current, though in many instances the author carries his scepticism too far.

**Mas-La Trie, J. M.**, *Trésor de chronologie, d'histoire et de géographie*, 1837. — **Mazade, C. de**, *l'Espagne moderne*, Paris, 1855; *Les révolutions de l'Espagne contemporaine*, 1868. — **Medina, J. T.**, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias*, Santiago, 1899. — **Melo, F. M.**, *Historia de los movimientos separación y guerra de Cataluña en tiempo de Felipe IV*, Lisbon, 1645, Paris, 1840. — **Mendoza, D. Hurtado de**, *Guerra de Granada hecha por el rey Felipe II*, Madrid, 1610, 1852.

*Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* belonged to an illustrious Spanish family and was born in Granada about 1503. His earliest teacher was the celebrated Peter Martyr of Angleria (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera). He served in the Italian wars and was employed by Charles V in various important diplomatic missions. Having displeased Philip II he was compelled to retire to Granada. He was already pre-eminent for his learning and had taken advantage of his position as ambassador to the Grand Turk to make a valuable collection of manu-

scripts which he presented to Philip II for the Imperial library. When no longer permitted to engage in affairs of state he devoted himself to literary works which include poems and translations from Aristotle. For collecting information for his *Tratado de Geografía* he had the advantage of residence on the spot and a knowledge of the inner workings of the government. The book also ranks high for its literary style.

**Menéndez y Pelayo, M.**, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid, 1909.

*Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*, a contemporary literary critic, historian, and philosopher, born in 1856, and noted for his prodigious memory. His work exhibits a decided tendency to ultramontanism, and he has written in defence of the Inquisition. His talents were early developed and he had already a scholar's reputation before he was out of his teens. At 21 he was appointed to the chair of critical history of Spanish literature of the Faculty of philosophy and letters at Madrid. In 1880 he became a member of the Spanish Academy of Language, in 1882 of that of History, and afterwards of those of natural sciences, of politics, and of the fine arts. Since then he has become director of the national library in Madrid, and of the entire system of public archives, museums, and libraries in Spain.

**Mérimee, P.**, *Historia de Don Pedro I*, Paris, 1865. Translation 1879. — **Mignet, F. A. M.**, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV.*, Paris, 1789, 1810, 4 vols.; *Antonio Perez et Philippe II*, Paris, 1840; *Traité d'astrolabe*, London, 1840; *Charles Quint, son abdication, son départ et sa mort au monastère de Yuste*, Paris, 1854; *États de France*, I et de Charles Quint, Paris, 1875, 2 vols.

*François Ignace Mignet*, the French historian, was born in 1782 at Aix where he subsequently studied for the law. In the early part of his career he was a journalist as a liberal journalist and was associated with the *National*, but after 1815 he devoted himself wholly to history. Here his studies were for no longer confined to Spanish subjects, his chief work being a history of the French Revolution.

**Mingote y Tarazona, P.**, *Geografía de España y sus Islas*, Lerma, 1897. — **Minutoli,**

**J. M.**, *von Spanien und seine Fortschritte der Kultur*, Berlin, 1886. — **Miraflores,** *Marques de*, *Apuntes históricos sobre para cuando la historia de la revolución de España desde el año 1808-1809* (Madrid), 1831. *Memorias para servir a la historia de los siete primeros años del reinado de Isabel II.* Madrid, 1818-1844, 2 vols. — *Continuación de las memorias del reinado de Isabel II.* — **Miro, M. J.**, *Las Constituciones de España*, Madrid, 1861, 2 vols. — **Moniz, P.**, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, 1846-1862, 11 vols. — **Moncada, P. de**, *Guerra trina, Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Aragón y Turra*, Barcelona, 1810, 1812, Madrid, 1863.

*Pedro de Moncada*, Count de Urna, a member of an old Catalan family, was born in 1566 and died in 1635. He filled various important public offices as councillor of war, governor of Plasencia, and ambassador to the emperor Ferdinand II. In the last campaign he twice defeated the Prince of Orange. His *Relación de sucesos y empresas* is an account of the expedition under Roger de Flor called 1595 on behalf of the Spaniards. He derived his materials from Zurita and Muntaner, the latter a contemporary of Roger. Many of the adventures described appear quite incredible. The language is pure and the style flowing.

**Mondejar, G. I.**, *Marques de*, *Memorias históricas de los Reyes Alfonso el Sabio*, Madrid, 1777. — **Monessa Sanchez, J. M.**, *Historia legal de España desde la dominación gótica hasta nuestros días*, Madrid, 1841, 2 vols. — **Montejo, R.**, *Noticia de la independencia de Castilla*, in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*. — **Montesa y Mantique**, *Historia de la legislación de España*, Madrid, 1861, 1864, 2 vols. — **Montes, A. de**, *Orden General de España*, Alcalá, 1674-1677, Madrid, 1761, *Ordenes Castellanas*, Madrid, 1769, 3 vols.

*Antonio de Montes* (1517-1591) was appointed in 1574 viceroy of the kingdom of Castile and continued the *Orden general de España* of Ferrnán de Ovando. His work lacks arrangement.

**Moré-Fatio, A.**, *L'Espagne au XVI et XVII siècles*, Paris, 1876. *Études sur l'Espagne*, Paris, 1890-1893, 3 vols. — *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1881. — **Moré, J.**, *Recherches sur l'Inquisition*. — **Motley, J. L.**, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, London, 1866, 1868, 3 vols. — **Motzy, C.**, *de Louis et Philippe II*, Paris, 1888, *Jeune la Belle* (Revue des deux Mondes). — **Müller, W.**, *Politische Geschichte des neuesten Zeit, 1775-1800*, Stuttgart, 1890. — **Muñoz Maldonado, J.**, *Historia de la guerra de la independencia de España contra Napoleón Bonaparte desde 1808 a 1814*, Madrid, 1863, 3 vols.

*José Muñoz Maldonado* (1807-1875) was fiscal minister in the Royal Council of the Orders during ten years. Under Isabella II he was several times elected deputy for Guadalajara, Jaén and Ciudad Real, and afterwards became senator, but was more distinguished as a jurist and as a writer, though rather industrious than brilliant.

**Muñoz y Romero**, *Diccionario bibliográfico histórico*, Madrid, 1863. — **Muntaner, R.**, *Crónica del rey Don Jaime primer, Rey d'Arago y de molti de sos descendents*, Valencia, 1558, Stuttgart, 1844.

*Ramón Muntaner* is the rival of Bernardo Desclot as chief of Catalan historians. He lived in the reign of James I of Aragon and took part in the expedition of the company or army which Roger de Flor led against both Turks and Greeks and in other military enterprises. His chronicle therefore describes events in which he himself shared. He was still alive in 1330.

*Muriel, A.*, *Historia de Carlos IV*, Madrid, 1894-1895, 6 vols.; Constitutes, vols. 29-34 of the *Memorial-historico-español*, published by the Real Academia de la Historia.

*Napier, W. F. P.*, *History of the War in the Peninsula, 1807-1814*, London, 1828-1840, 6 vols., 1890. — *Navarrete, M. Fernandez de*, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Madrid, 1842, etc. — *Nervo, G.*, *Baron de, Histoire d'Espagne*, Paris, 1870, 4 vols.; *Isabelle la catholique reine d'Espagne*, Paris, 1874; Translation by T. Temple West, London, 1897. — *Norman, W. W.*, *Philip II king of Spain, with an account of the condition of Spain, the Netherlands and the American colonies in Historical Studies*, New York, 1898. — *Novissima Recopilación de los leges de España*, Paris, 1846, 5 vols. — *Nueva Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España y de sus Indias*, edited by F. de Zabalburu and others, Madrid, 1892 ff., 6 vols. — *Núñez de Castro, A.*, *Corónica Gótica, Castellana y Austriaca*, Madrid, 1789-1790, 7 vols.

*Ober, F. A.*, *History for young readers; Spain*, New York, 1899. — *Ocampo, F. de*, *Los cinco libros primeros de la crónica general de España*, Zamora, 1541.

*Florián de Ocampo*, whose life covers the period between 1513 and 1590, was commissioned by Charles V to write the general chronicle of Spain, but as he commenced with the time of the flood he only managed to bring it down to the time of the Scipios. In spite of much credulity and an unpleasing style the book has been much esteemed by antiquarians. Together with the works of Morales and Sandoval it was published at Madrid in 1791, under the title of *Corónica General de España*.

*Olivart, Marques de*, *Colección de los tratados . . . internacionales celebrados per nuestros gobiernos con los estados extranjeros, desde el reinado de Doña Isabel II*, Madrid, 1890 ff., 10 vols. — *Oman, C. W. C.*, *History of the Peninsular War*, London, 1901, 2 vols. (work not completed). — *Ortiz y Sanz, J.*, *Compendio cronológico de la historia de España*, Madrid, 1795-1803, 7 vols. — *Oviedo y Valdes, G. Fernandez de*, *Quinquagenas*, in Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1880.

*Palacios, Cura de los*, see *Bernáldez*. — *Paquis, A.*, and *Dochez*, *Histoire d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Paris, 1844-1848, 2 vols. — *Parmele, M. P.*, *A Short History of Spain*, New York, 1898. — *Pellicer de Ossav y Tovar, J.*, *Annales de la monarchie de España después de su pérdida*, Madrid, 1681. — *Pérez del Pulgar, Hernán*, *Breve parte de las hazañas del Gran Capitán*, printed as *Breve sumario de los hechos del Gran Capitán*, Seville, 1527, Madrid, 1834. — *Pérez Pujol, E.*, *Historia de los instituciones de la España goda*. — *Perez y Lopez, A. X.*, *Teatro de la legislación universal de España é Indias*, Madrid, 1791, 28 vols. — *Philippson, M.*, *Heinrich IV und Philipp III*, Berlin, 1870-1876, 3 vols.; *Ein Ministerium unter Philipp II. Kardinal Granvella am spanischem Hofe 1579-1586*, Berlin, 1894. — *Pichot, A.*, *Chronique de Charles Quint*, 1853. — *Pidal, P. J.*, *marques de, Historia de las alteraciones de Aragon en el reinado de Felipe II*, 1862-1863, 3 vols.

*Pedro José Pidal* (1800-1865), distinguished both in literature and in politics, studied law and philosophy at Oviedo. The activity with which he supported the liberal party, 1820-1824, caused him to be condemned to imprisonment in the reaction of 1824, but he escaped his sentence, and in 1828 was pardoned. In 1838 he was elected to the cortes where he was distinguished for his oratory. Successively president of the congress, minister of the interior and of justice, he was active in reforming the administration and in 1851 was instrumental in bringing about an understanding between the Spanish and Papal courts. He left numerous works on jurisprudence, language, and literature.

*Pirala, A.*, *Anales de la guerra civil*, 1853; *Historia de la guerra civil y de los partidos liberal y carlista* (with an account of Espartero's regency), Madrid, 1890, 3 vols.; *Historia contemporánea*, Madrid, 1875-1880; 1893-1895, 6 vols.; *El rey en Madrid y en provincias*, 1871.

*Antonio Pirala*, a contemporary historian, born 1824. He filled various minor offices in the administration and was secretary to King Amadeo. His writings include contributions to various large publications as well as some insignificant ones on religious subjects; but the most important are those historical works mentioned above.

*Plummer, M. W.*, *Contemporary Spain as shown by her novelists*, New York, 1899. — *Polybius*, *General History*, London, 1693, 2 vols. — *Pradt, D. D.*, *Mémoires historiques sur la révolution d'Espagne*, Paris, 1816. — *Prescott, W. H.*, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Boston and London, 1838, 1889; *History of the Reign of Philip II*, Boston and London, 1855-1858, 3 vols.